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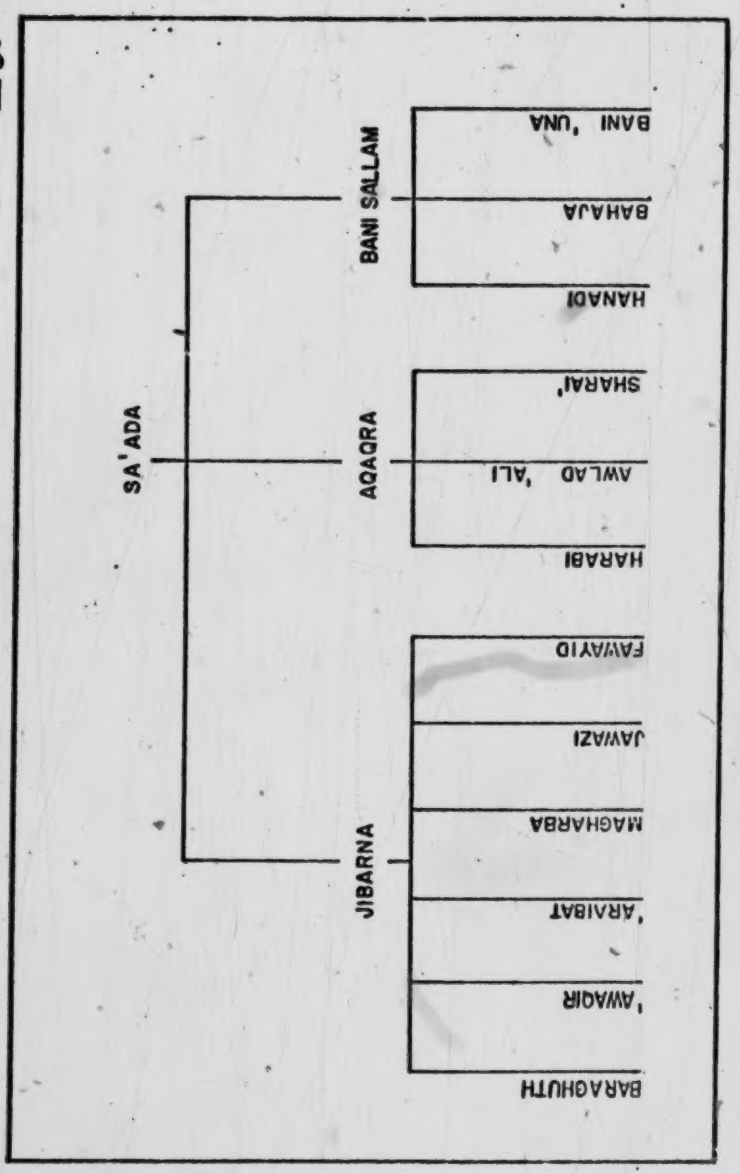

THE GENEALOGY OF THE CYRENAICAN BEDOUIN

FIGURE 2

History of Settlement in al-Qasr

•173 The settlement of al-Qasr took place about 200 years
[166] ago when the Awlad 'Ali first came to the area from Cyrenaica.
[175] No historical documentation for this period exists. The
173 various versions which the Bedouins offer are both vague and
*613 ethnocentric with reference to lineage. A point of consensus
[712] is that the zone was first claimed by Abu Mahjuba who built a large fort (qasr = "fort" or "castle") near the coast. The Bedouins say that Abu Mahjuba settled in the area of al-Qasr because "he knew good land when he saw it." He belonged to no one lineage, "he was 'Aishaibi only." All of the lineages of al-Qasr claim that their ancestors came with Abu Mahjuba and settled on the land at that time. Abu Mahjuba has been mythologized: he belongs to all of al-Qasr, a symbol of local group solidarity and fraternal equality.

173 Al-Qasr represents the end of nomadic life for the
361 'Aishaibat tribe. According to the Bedouins, each tribe and
[198] lineage took that part of al-Qasr which it preferred. If the members of the segment wanted to grow vegetables, they took land on the coast; if they preferred the "old way of life," they set up their tents in the sha'ir wi mar'a area and raised sheep. "Everything was fine," they say, "there were no land registration laws--a man was free." Al-Qasr was settled
[619] "after the wars" (with the Hanadi), and it was only then that the Awlad 'Ali broke up into tribes. The 'Aishaibat took the

173 [36] [425] [423] land along the coast: "This land was free, and the man who planted on it owned it. We call this (method of claiming land) wad'a-l-id ("laying on of the hand," i.e. seizure). There was plenty of freedom in those days. A man could farm or keep animals." Planting and caring for the land is not novel to the Bedouins of al-Qasr.

423 425 656 [178] The Bedouins claim that the pattern of land distribution established during the time of Abu Mahjuba prevails today. Further, they say that these rules will never change, no matter what laws come out of Cairo: "Land registration can mean nothing where the tribes are concerned, for no Bedouin would be willing to take the land of another Bedouin. The government forces us to register our land so that it can be stated in the newspaper that they are giving the Bedouins land."

613 423 182 The relationship between ecology and lineage territory is not striking, such as in the case of the Cyrenaican Bedouins of Libya (Peters 1960). In most cases, lineage territories run on a north-south line cross-cutting the coastal garden and southern pastoral zones. Hence, lineage territories are, generally, ecologically similar rather than contrasted. However, there are exceptions. 'Ailit Shraif lineage (see Figure 3a below), at the western end of al-Qasr's 'izba sector, settled there "because of the abundance of underground water in this area: the ground is rocky here and the water comes out fresh like the Nile." Their founder, Sayyid Shraif, "specialized"

1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

CHAPTER III

KINSHIP AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Principles of Social Structure

*613 The division of Bedouin society into groups is explained in terms of certain principles of organization, the most pervasive of these being unilineality or the lineage
*613 619 principle. According to this structural rule, an individual born into a tertiary lineage segment (see Figure 7) automatically becomes a member of each successive and more inclusive group represented by the higher levels of segmentation. The status, rights, and obligations of the individual with respect to other members of the tribe are in this way determined on the basis of kinship. An individual gains political status in the tribe, as a societal unit, only through membership in a tertiary group. Theoretically, group membership is based on birth, but there are certain "legal fictions" which represent exceptions to this rule. In al-Qasr exceptions are rare, but a few do exist. For instance, there is one case of
[597] individual adoption, and in another case, a whole tertiary
*173 segment was grafted on to a lineage stem. The latter case
*613 happened four generations ago when Taram Mighaiwiz of 'Ailit
619 Lazumi adopted Hajj 'Ali "as his brother." The Bedouins say
597 [See p.77--Analyst]

•173 *613 619 597 that in those days it was important "to have men to go to war; Hajj 'Ali came from the Sinai with many men and wrote his name into the books of Lazumi." Today, in the Lazumi genealogy Hajj 'Ali's name appears as the brother of Taram, [114] both are claimed as sons of Mighawsiz. This kind of data is difficult to uncover and I may have missed gathering other cases of ideological kinship ties.

*613 [171] The specific unilinear principle which operates in al-Qasr is partrilineality, common to the Middle Eastern culture area. A corollary principle is the corporate group. *613 591 Together, these two rules structure the social world of the individual and effectively define a range of social choices for him. The individual's social relations and social roles are relative to the rights and obligations of the people related to him through his father. In a sense, the social world for the individual in al-Qasr is his father's group and its network of relationships with other similar groups; he would not think of leaving this group of his own free will though, in reality, he could. The Bedouins believe [181] [829] that a man cannot be happy if he lives with strangers, i.e., outside his corporate group. This value holds up today to the extent that a man will expect his son to return to the desert even after his education as a merchant, a government clerk, or an army officer.

Structural differentiation in al-Qasr is not solely

1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

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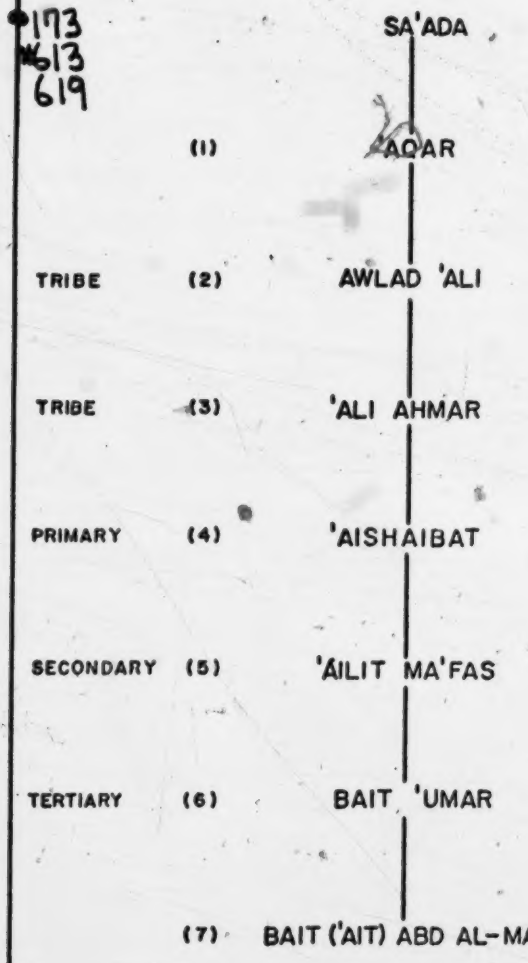

FIGURE 7

GENERATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY OF TRIBAL STRUCTURE

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'Aishaibat

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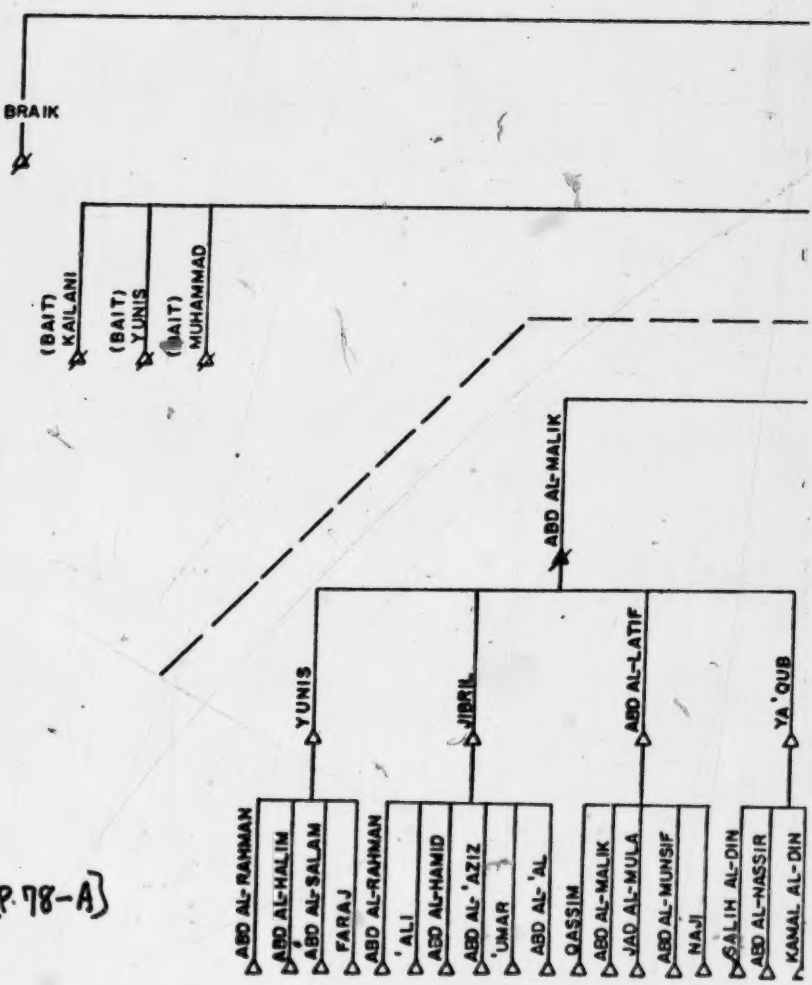

[P. 78-A]

1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

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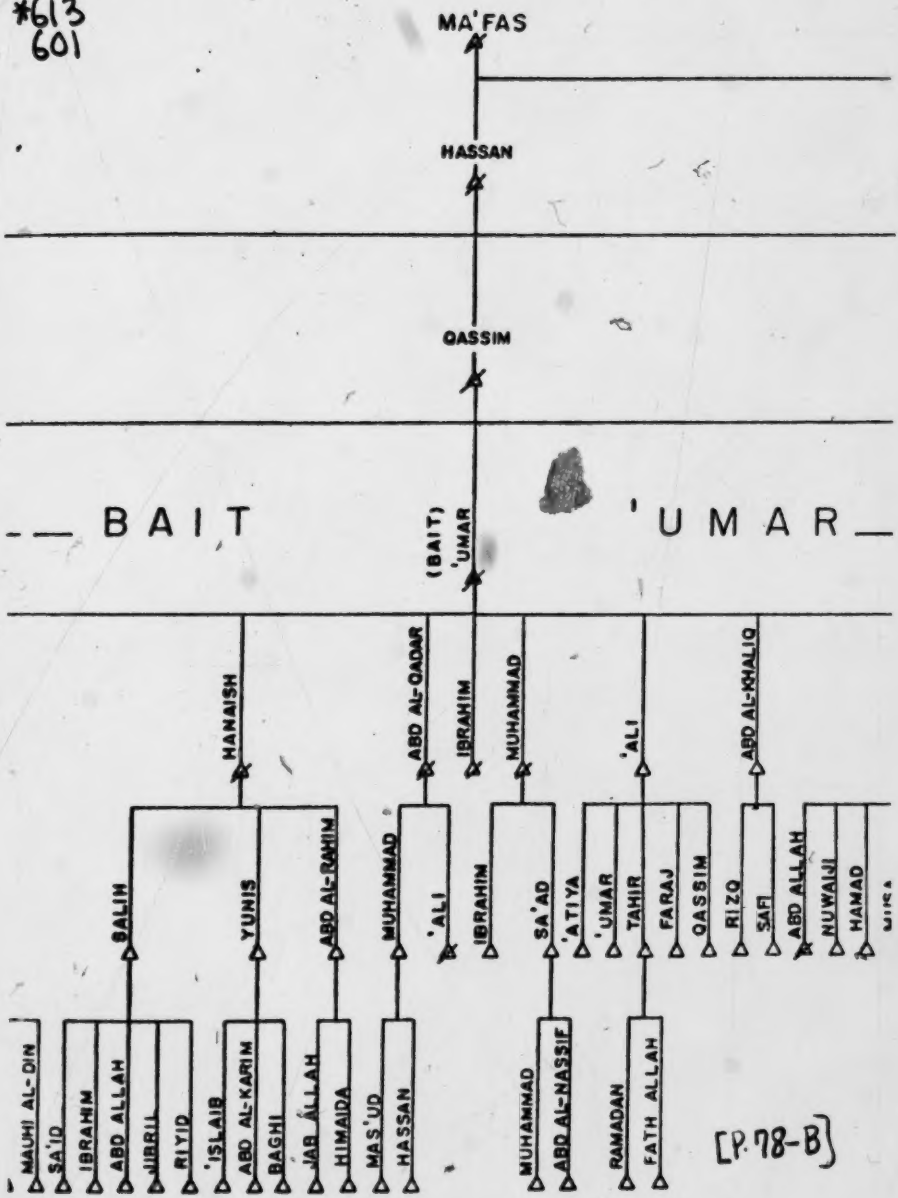

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1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

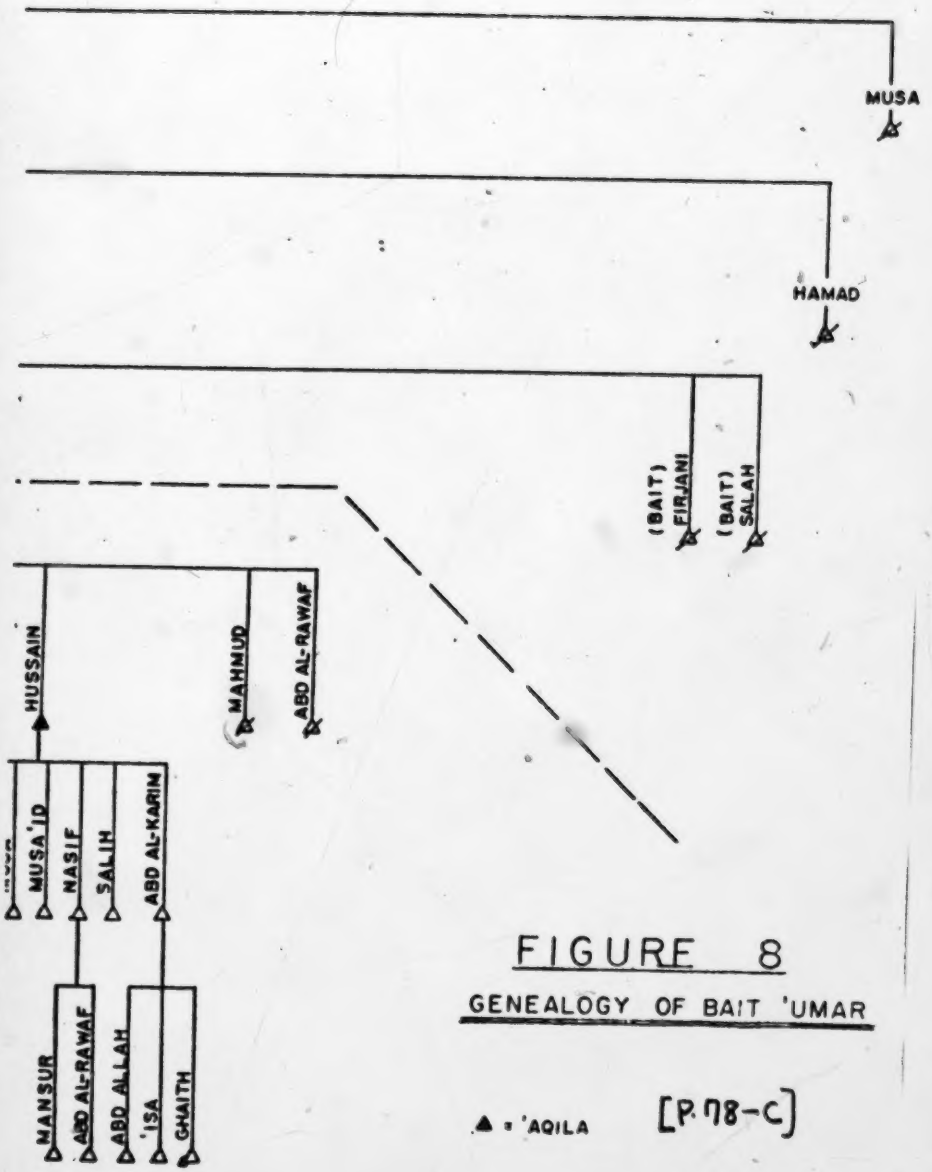

FIGURE 8

GENEALOGY OF BAIT 'UMAR

▲ = 'AQILA

[P.78-C]

619 the bureaucratic principle. Here we are concerned with the
179 traditional situation.
[121]

The 'Aishaibi Bedouins of al-Qasr are a residence
619 group. Each sub-group of the tribe, i.e., the secondary and
*613 tertiary units, is assigned their own territory (mintaqa).
571 Kinship and residence are the primary determinants of group differentiation; agnates who dwell together represent concrete authority structures, or political groups. This follows from the fact that patterns of political action, or what we call political structures, most often deal with the exercise of legitimate authority--as opposed to power. Power relations do occur and when present complicate the situation. In al-Qasr, power relations and structures emerge when the principle of cognation or contracted alliance form groups which crosscut the effectiveness of local, agnatic political structures. But, in al-Qasr, as in most societies, political action usually takes the form of the exercise of authority (Southall 1965:120).

•173 The genealogical map as an idological charter argues
114 against the formation of power relations. Genealogical re-
*613 lations represent a set of social relations each replete with
571 definite rights and obligations. Fallers (1956) has noted the tendency in segmentary lineage societies to cast all
*613 authority relations in a unilinear genealogical mould. The
829 Bedouin visualize their world, extending from Alexandria to
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571

*613 829 •173 571 Libya, as a territorially segmented one corresponding to the lineage divisions of the tribe. They say that every Bedouin knows the owner of each centimeter of this world. Not only does the genealogy represent a set of property relations, it also represents and upholds a set of authority relations. In *613 173 571 Cyrenaica also (Peters 1960), the Bedouin genealogical map corresponds to the distribution of groups on the ground. Kinship relations as social relations in Bedouin society may be properly interpreted as property relations between groups. Property relations as part of the Bedouin world view are an essential premise upon which the social and political order rests, although it is not the only premise.

619 *613 The 'Aishaibat are identified with the al-Qasr portion of the Awlad 'Ali homeland. The 'Aishaibi segments are separate and contiguous on the ground. Figure 3a[1] shows the correspondence between the 'Aishaibi genealogical and territorial divisions at the secondary lineage level of segmentation.

121 *613 That kinship as an organizing principle in segmentary societies cannot be considered apart from local contiguity is an old and well-known fact. Sir Henry Maine (1917:76-79) in analyzing the evolution of "political ideas" noted the interrelationship between "the principle of local contiguity" and the central principle of the "connexion in blood," how they combine to become "the condition of community in political

1, [See p. 66--Analyst]

619 'Ali tribe. There is one lineage, the Sulwatiyya shown in
*[613] Figure 7a, which does not claim descent from Sa'ada and hence are no relations of the Awlad 'Ali Bedouin. Nor are any serious ideological claims for tribal membership provided by them or their Awlad 'Ali neighbors. The first social differentiation found in al-Qasr, then, is between those who belong to the Sa'adi tribes and those of the Marabit tribes. In terms of Bedouin social ideal types, the Sa'adi tribesmen are warriors, known for their courage and generosity; the Marabit tribesmen are weak and dependent on the protection
[192] which the Sa'adi offers them. The Marabit tends to specialize
[171] in the role of "holy man." The dichotamy here is a reflection of the structural differentiation, common to North Africa, between sacred and secular tribes, or client and protector tribes.

619
• 193 The Sa'adi-Marabit division in al-Qasr is defined
539 geographically, in name, and in Bedouin tradition and myth. Here is the way in which the Marabit "holy man" of al-Qasr conceives of the difference between the two types and its origin:

> They are brothers and there is no difference. The Sa'adi is always one step in front of the Marabit, he handles things for the Marabit and helps him. In political matters the Sa'adi is more advanced . . . When the Marabit is in trouble, the Sa'adi will defend him. They are two different groups because the Sa'adi are from one mother. Once Sa'ada was riding in a caravan through the desert.

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Her riding booth struck a tree and she found herself stranded there in the tree; her camel had gone and the rest of the caravan noticed nothing and continued on. Then a Marabit passed by and saw her there. He helped her down and they later married. She already had three sons to a former husband: Ali Ahmar, Ali Abyad and Sinaina. The Marabit also had children from another marriage. He was very rich and they could afford to live together. One day thieves began to harrass the man, but when the three Sa'adi sons offered him their help he told them not to bother with the thieves, that they would go away. But they did not, and they continued to harrass the man for a long time. The three sons were still very young at this time. When they grew up they asked the Marabit for arms and horses with which to fight off the thieves. They received them and succeeded in driving off the thieves. The Marabit was very happy and offered the three sons one-half of his wealth, and he was very rich. The sons refused this generous offer saying to the Marabit that they were no different from his other sons and would take only one-tenth of his wealth.

619 The differentiation between the Sa'adi and Marabit has structural consequences only in that it defines psychological types and tends to assign them to certain roles in society. By his [181] psychological make-up, the Marabit, who is weak and retiring, is unfit for the tasks which the Sa'adi undertakes, i.e., war, trade, and politics. It is, nevertheless, expected that the Marabit will act as a support mechanism for the secular operations of the Sa'adi. Usually, this support takes the form of financial contributions.

619
675 Each Marabit group is related through contractual agreement to a Sa'adi group. For instance, the Sulwatiyya lineage of al-Qasr are members of the Jumi'at tribe, a Marabit tribe; when identifying themselves they will say

*613 That the
•193 secondary segment is as significant as the tertiary group seems to be indicated by the Bedouin tendency to mythologize the founder of the secondary group. For instance, Ma'fas is a nickname literally meaning "the big-footed one;" the Zagharat take their name from a man who used the zaghaariid ("shrill cry of joy" used by women) as his battle-cry; Abu Qarasa means "father of bread-loaf;" Sayyid Shraif was a very "noble" (shraif - "high-bred, noble") man. Along with each name there are a number of different myths to explain it: hence Ma'fas was a cattle thief who left large footprints in the mud so that all would know of his daring exploits; Abu Qarasa baked hugh loaves of bread to honor his in-laws when they visited him. On the other hand, there are no myths about
*613 founders of tertiary segments. Tertiary segments might, in
198 the future, disappear from the Bedouins' genealogy, either because of death, barawwa, or secession, but the secondary group survives these events. It is the secondary segment, as we shall see in our discussion of law and sanctions, which is structurally important for the political community of the Awlad 'Ali.

*613 Because the secondary level is the more structurally
591 important, seeing that the greater benefits of collective responsibility derive from it, the tertiary group surrenders part of its autonomy to it. The tertiary group does so in just the way that the individual member of any polity allows

619 The name also includes various peasant
[563] groups and individuals who migrated from the Nile valley and who were incorporated into the tribal organization by a system of tribal adoption called "Iktitab." Most of these peasant groups came to the desert [701] to avoid military drafting by becoming part of Awlad Ali, who, until [554] 1947, were exempted from serving in the Egyptian army. Although groups and individuals thus adopted become part of the pedigrees of the adopting tribal segments and are supposed to enjoy equal status, yet, insofar as their origin is still remembered, they are looked down upon by the Sa'adi and occupy a position somewhere between that of Awlad Ali Sa'adi and that of the Murabiteen.

619 The Sa'adi tribes consider themselves to be the descendants of a
●173 certain Aqqar Ben Sa'ada or Aqqar El-Sherif, a descendant of Bani Suleim, who settled in Cyrenaica in the Fifth Century. Although they claim to [144] be of pure Arab ancestory, all sources agree that a considerable amount of mixture between Arab and indigenous Berber populations took place during the period they have been in North Africa.

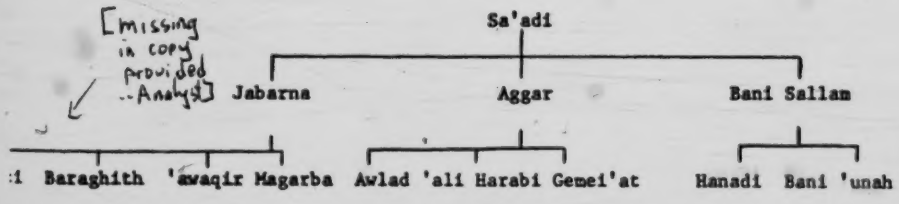

Fig. 1. The Sa'adi Tribes

* The exact relationship of the Gemeiat tribe to the Sa'adi tribes is not exactly known. Many informants, as well as accounts of earlier travelers in the area, assert that descent from Hkadiga, a sister of Ali and Harb, and therefore are cousins of Awlad Ali. Others, especially members of Sa'adi tribes, themselves, deny any genealogical

619 Until two centuries ago Awlad Ali lived in eastern Cyrenaica.
173 After the death of Aqqar, his two sons, Ali (founder of Awlad Ali) and Harb (founder of Harabi tribe on chart), competed for the leadership of
619 the tribe. This competition involved their respective tribes in a
173 bitter war which existed for more than fifty years. In one of the major
726 battles between the two tribal segments, the Harabi segment with help
[648] from the Caramanli rules of Tripoli were able to defeat Awlad Ali and to drive them eastward across the Libyan-Egyptian borders into the Egyptian Western Desert. This happened about 150 years ago. At that time, the area was occupied by the Hanadi, a warlike cousin of Awlad Ali, who had established a system of dominance over the Murabiteen tribes who are believed to be the original inhabitants of the desert. The area also was inhabited by the Gemeiat tribe, which, although believed to have Murabiteen status, yet were not treated as clients of the powerful Hanadi, as were the other Murabiteen tribes in the area. With the help from the Murabiteen, Awlad Ali were able to defeat the Hanadi and to drive them eastward into the Nile Delta, where they settle now as cultivators.

619 During the rule of Muhammad Ali (1815-1848), the warlike Awlad
175 Ali were frequently used by the government to subdue the tribal uprisings
648 in the Delta and other parts of Egypt, and to hold the Mamlukes in check. There was no organized army in Egypt at that time except for a few remnants of the Turkish soldiers. The tribal population of Awlad Ali agreed to supply Muhammad Ali with fighting men on the condition that they would be provided with food and arms and also exempted

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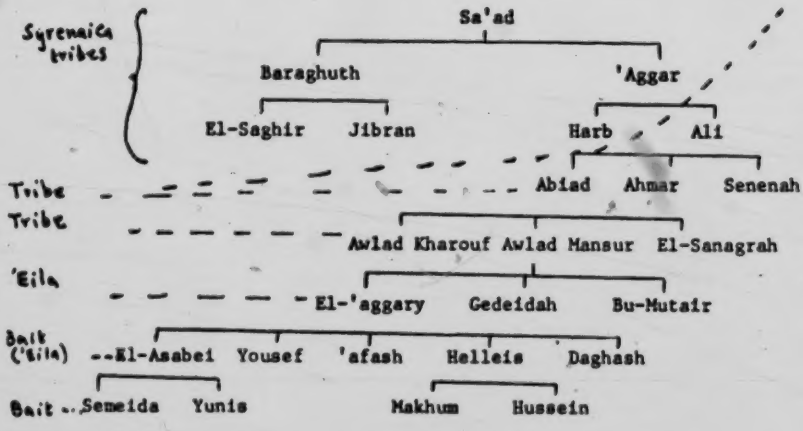
[619 173] connection to Gemeiat and insist that they are a Murabiteen tribe who acquired their relatively higher status through their assistance to Awlad Ali during their fight with the Harabi.

121 There is no paramount chief of the
619 tribe at the present time; yet, the unifying force is the recognition
671 by the group of the tribal law, the Daraieb, as a binding set of rules
[643] and as the regulator of behavior within the area. In these terms, Awlad Ali are a clearly delimited group, and it is in terms of the jurisdiction of these rules that Awlad Ali are treated as a unit for administrative purposes by the Egyptian government. Viewed this way, Awlad Ali will be defined as those who recognize and abide by the Daraieb or the customary law. This includes the Murabiteen tribes
[563] as well as all those who became part of the tribal organization of Awlad Ali by means of Iktitab. Since the territorial jurisdiction of the Daraieb is limited to the Western Desert of Egypt, those groups and individuals of Awlad Ali origin who have moved on a permanent basis from the area will be excluded from the group. Groups and individuals who live in the area but are not part of the tribal organization of Awlad Ali are not subject to the Daraieb.

619 Awlad Ali of the Western Desert of Egypt are an offshoot of the
• 173 Cyrenaica tribes who in turn believe themselves to be the descendants of a unique ancestress Sa'ada.



619 Awlad Ali themselves are divided into three major sections: Ahmar
• 173 (the Reds); Abiad (the Whites); and Senenah. Each of these sections is referred to as "tribe" and sometimes "tribes." The first two major sections, those of Ahmar or the Reds and Abiad (Whites), are named after their mothers, the wives of Ali (founder of Awlad Ali). The Whites are named after their white mother, and the Reds after their Sudanese mother who, owing to her dark complexion, was known as El-Hamra (the red one).

613 In the past, writers such as Robertson-Smith (1903) have inter-
114 preted the reference to female names in patrilineal genealogies as in-
551 dicating an earlier matrilineal descent. I tend to agree with a more
[595] recent writer, E. Peters (1959), who explains the reference to female ancestors by two factors: patrilineal descent and polygyny. According to him, it is a way of distinguishing full brothers from half brothers and a means to show this genealogically. "The concept of the 'one womb', of maternal origin, is a critical one in the context of social cohesion, but it does not deny patriliny; on the contrary, it serves a sense to enforce it. Female names can be used to show a greater notion of cohesion than the mere use of male names, and the significance of a female name . . . is that it is symbol of full brother unity at the highest political level." (p.29).

613 This can be further supported by evidence from my own data which
551 show that reference to female names occur more frequently in charts
173 where tribal names rather than proper names are used. In genealogies
619 using proper names, informants rarely, if ever, trace their descent to an ancestress. But when charts of tribal names are used, it is not

613 551 173 619 [595] uncommon to find reference to female names. This indicates that it is only when the unity of the full brothers becomes politically significant that the name of the mother rather than the name of the father is used. This may explain why the occurrence of female names in Awlad Ali genealogies is not as common as one might expect judging from the frequency of polygynous marriages among the group.

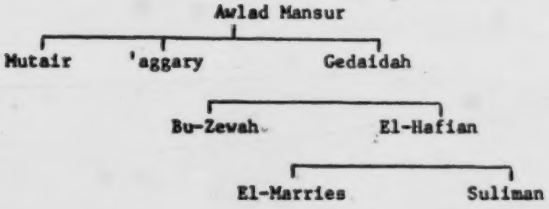
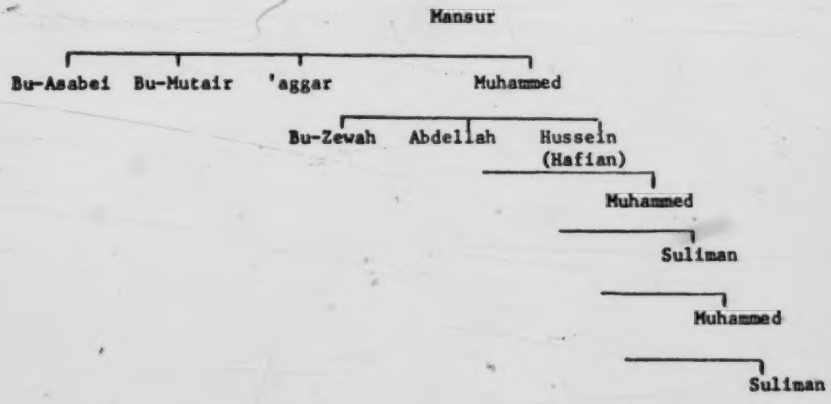


Fig. 3. Recognized tribal segments of Awlad Mansur (a segment of Awlad Ali)



613 619 173 551 The two charts show the same unit of Awlad Mansour. The first of the two charts shows the tribal segments in which Eilat Gedaida (a female name) appears as one of the segments. When the actual genealogical chart of one of the living members of that segment was drawn, descent was traced to Mohammed, the husband of Gedaida, as shown on the second chart. In this case Gedaida is not a member of Awald Mansour segment. The unity of the full brothers is emphasized without changing the affiliation of the segment. It is simply a means of carrying on the patriline using the mother's name. This is not always the case, however. Examination of other cases in which the female name was used reveals the fact that in certain instances using the female name is a means of carrying on the line of descent through a daughter. This meant incorporating within the tribal segment a whole group of individuals who otherwise would have belonged to a different patriline. Carrying the line through 613 619 551 the daughter in this manner has the same result as adopting her husband unto the tribe. The question then is why wasn't adoption used. Examination of the two cases in which this happened indicates that a possible explanation may be that this occurs whenever the husband is unadoptable. Adoption is possible whenever a man does not have any tribal affiliation. 613 619 551 597 In one of the two cases the husband belonged to the Gemei'at tribe, a Murabiteen tribe which enjoys a relatively higher status than the other Murabiteen tribes by virtue of their being the original settlers of the area and helping the Awald Ali in their fight with the Hanadi, 597 554 yet compared to Awlad Ali proper occupies an inferior position. In this case, relating to the patriline of the mother carried with it a

613 definite political advantage. In the second case in which the female
619 name was used, the husband was a member of the Bara'asa tribe of Libya.
551 Although this tribe is one the powerful tribes of Libya, it has no
597 political influence in the Egyptian Western Desert. Changing affilia-
554 tion carried with it the strong political support of the mother's tribal segment.

619 In general the Reds occupy the western half of the coastal area of
131 the Western Desert from the town of Matruh westward to the Libyan border, while the Whites occupy the eastern part which stretches to Alexandria. The Senenah are fairly scattered although their largest concentration is located in the extreme western part overlapping that of the Reds. The territorial division of the area among the three major sections of Awlad Ali is not a strict one. Historical evidence shows that there has been
[194] a considerable tribal displacement throughout the area. This displacement occurred mainly during the intratribal war era and during the Second World War when the area was a main battlefield. In general, however, there is a significant relationship between territorial distribution and tribal segmentation, and this is especially true on the higher levels of segmentation than on the lower ones.

619 Each of the three sections of the apex of a three-tiered order of
613 segments which, following the native usage, will be called Kabila (tribe), Eila (family), and Bait (house).

619 The first order referred to as tribes are structurally equivalent
●173 units but of highly variable size. Each of them has its traditional history. Some of these histories are important to the tribe as a whole.

619 Such traditions differentiate between these segments which otherwise
[173] occupy an equivalent position in the formal system.

This level of segmentation has no particular political significance except that it is at this level that the client tribes of Murabiteen are attached. People in the area differentiate between Awlad Ali proper, who are called the Sa'adi, and the Murabiteen tribes. Murabiteen tribes occupy a special position which tends to complicate the formal analysis of the tribal organization of the Awlad Ali. The Murabiteen are a number of tribes of varying sizes and origin which are attached to the Sa'adi tribes as their vassals or clients. They exhibit the same principles of tribal organization as the Sa'adi tribes except that they have no common origin similar to that of the latter groups.

619 The original division of the Murabiteen tribes among the Sa'adi was
173 made in the famous meeting at El-Haqfa in which the division of land was also made and the Awlad Ali law was first enacted. The number of client groups attached to each Sa'adi tribe reflects the relative prestige and power of thatparticular tribe at the time of the meeting. Having a re-
619 latively large number of client tribes meant, in addition to prestige of
173 the patron tribe, large financial support. Until half a century ago
651 this financial support was in the form of an obligatory tribute or "sadaqa" which the client tribes had to pay. This tribute is no longer
[178] mandatory, but the client groups are still expected to present members
[431] of their patron tribes with gifts on occasions such as weddings, funerals
619 or feasts of the tribal saint. Large vassal groups also meant support in fights. Although the client groups did not constitute part of the vengeance group of their Sa'adi, when the Sa'adi tribe fought, their client

619 184 178 582 In recent years this has changed, however. The increased importance of wealth in the recently introduced money economy relaxed the endogamous tendency that was characteristic of the Sa'adi tribes.

619 184 In discussing the position of the Murabiteen tribes it is worth noting that not all the Murabiteen tribes in the area occupy the same position. Some enjoy relatively higher positions than the others. Actually, there are two kinds of Murabiteen in the area: Mustaqillen (independent Murabiteen); and the dependent Murabiteen. The latter are further subdivided into Murabiteen bil-baraka (with the blessing); and Murabiteen bil-sadaqa (with the tribute). The only independent Murabiteen in the area is the Gemei'at tribe. These are the original settlers of the area. Because of their help to Awlad Ali against the Hanadi, the [173] latter were defeated and Awlad Ali were able to occupy the Western Desert. For their part the Gemei'at tribe was granted its independence by Awlad Ali and were given one-third of the total area as their homeland (watan). In theory, the Gemei'at tribe occupies the same position and has the same rights as the Sa'adi tribes, including the right to offer their protection which is denied to all other client groups. In practice, however, this seems to be of no practical value. None of my informants could remember a single case in which a murderer has taken refuge at a segment of the Gemei'at tribe. The importance of the nazala is not merely to be safe from the pursuit of the victim's group but rather to provide the mediators who undertake the crucial task of negotiation on behalf of the murderer and his gorup. It is the ability to settle the dispute on a permanent basis that offers the actual long-lasting protection, even after the time of the nazala expires. To be successful in his pursuit,

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3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

spond different social statuses. Some are classed as *Marabtin bil baraka*, 'client tribes with the blessing' or *Marabtin al-Fatha*, 'client tribes of the prayer', and they often claim to be Sharifs. These 'sacred' tribes, such as the Aulad al-Shaikh and most of

The Chief Sanusi Bedouin Tribes of Tripolitania.

the Masamir and Farjan, live among the *Sa'adi* as equals in virtue of the prestige they derive from their descent, or supposed descent, from saints, though the free tribes do not regard them as quite like themselves. Their ancestors are almost invariably believed to have come from the west, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, or Tripolitania. This move of pious men to

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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the east began in the middle of the thirteenth century and has lasted to the present day. It is intimately bound up with the pilgrimage to the sacred towns of Islam. Round these pious men and round their tombs gathered for sanctuary the simple and oppressed, and from these and from the children of the holy men have sprung the *Marabtin bil baraka* tribes. The other client tribes have no sacred associations and are known as *Marabtin al-sadqan* because they pay *sadaqa*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some small broken-up fragments of this category on the plateau, such as the 'Awwama, Alauna, Hasanna, and some of the Qat'an and Sa'it, even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live. Other tribes of this second category live, as already mentioned, on territory which is to all intents and purposes their own and have long since ceased to pay a fee. This is especially the case to the east, in 'Abaidat tribal territory, where such client tribes as the Minifa, Qat'an, Taraki, and Huta live with independent status. In the west also the Fawakhir and Zuwaya are too powerful and warlike to accept overlordship. Also, the more nomadic groups in Cyrenaica are mostly client tribes and, like all nomads, resent any control or authority. Whatever the free tribes may say about them, they regard themselves as independent.

The provenance of the *Sa'adi* tribes and of some of the *Marabtin* tribes is shown together with the distribution of the Sanusiya lodges on the map facing page 35, and the approximate numbers of these tribes, and of a few others not shown on the map, are listed below.

	Sa'adi		
al-'Abaidat	30,450	al-Zuwaya	3,700
al-'Awaqir	27,500	al-Shwa'ir	3,400
al-Bara'asa	21,000	al-Fawakhir	3,300
al-Darsa	18,850	al-Sa'it	2,900
al-Magharba	13,000	al-Majabra	2,500
al-'Arafa	9,300	al-Minifa	2,500
al-'Abid	6,850	al-Masamir	2,400
al-Hasa	6,500	al-Awajila	2,300
'Ailat Fayid	100	Aulad al-Shaikh	1,650
		al-'Aqail	1,400
	Marabtin	al-Shahaibat	1,350
al-Qat'an	5,850	al-Sarahna	1,250
al-'Awwama	3,800	al-Qabail	1,150
		al-Huta	1,150

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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[P.363]

EMRYS PETERS

18. *The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica [Libya]*[1]

In this article I do not propose to discuss the genealogies of the Cyrenaican Bedouin in full, but only such aspects of them as are strictly relevant to an understanding of their process of growth. Many other aspects of these genealogies will be referred to, and indeed, some of the arguments put forward will presume an acceptance of views which cannot be developed adequately in this article. A fuller and more general account of Cyrenaican genealogies is in preparation, and, until this is published, there is no alternative to the somewhat dogmatic statements about them which appear in the introductory part of this article.

The Bedouin of Cyrenaica claim that they are all descendants of a unique ancestress, Sa'ada. Writers in the past (e.g. Robertson-Smith 1903) have considered the occurrence of female names in patrilineal genealogies as evidence of an earlier and matrilineal mode of descent. A more satisfactory explanation of the occurrence of female names is to be found in the combination of two facts: descent in the patriline, whether or

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[1] My field work among the Cyrenaican Bedouin was made possible by an award from the Emslie Horniman Fund and a later award from the Treasury Committee for Studentships in Oriental Languages and Cultures. I wish here to express my indebtedness to both committees for their generosity. Much of the work I have done on genealogies was included in a thesis presented for the degree of D.Phil. at Oxford University in 1951. The ideas included in this thesis I developed more systematically in a course of lectures on the Bedouin which I gave at Manchester University during the session 1953–54. I subsequently read papers around the problems discussed in this paper at Oxford and Cambridge Universities. I am grateful to Professor Gluckman for reading this article in manuscript, and for the numerous discussions I have had with him on problems relating to lineage organization.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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not male names are used, is assumed, and secondly that the Bedouin are polygamous. If, then, half-brother differentiation or full sibling unity is to be shown genealogically, the obvious way in which this can be done is to use a maternal name in the genealogy. Thus, in the Cyrenaican genealogy, a number of tribal groups will be shown as sons of a particular father. If differentiation of these groups needs to be shown, this can be effected by clustering the groups round, say, two female names (the names of the respective mothers) thereby making the two clusters of groups stand in the relationship of paternal half brothers. The concept of the 'one womb', of maternal origin, is a critical one in the context of social cohesion, but it does not deny patriliny; on the contrary, it serves in a sense to reinforce it. Female names can be used to show a greater notion of cohesion than the mere use of male names, and the significance of a female name placed at the apex of the Cyrenaican genealogy is that it is the symbol of full brother unity at the highest political level.

The founding ancestress Sa'ada is credited with two sons, who in turn are considered to be the founding ancestors of the two largest groups of tribes in Cyrenaica. Each of these sons is said to have begottten two sons, as shown on the accompanying genealogy. The next generation shows a total of nine names, and these nine ancestors are considered to be the founding ancestors of the nine noble tribes of Cyrenaica.[2] Continuing the line of descent of one of these tribes—the Magharba—the same pattern of segmentation repeats itself: the tribe is divided into two primary sections having ar-Ra'aid and ash-Shamakh as the respective founding ancestors. Ash-Shamakh is said to have had four sons, and these are the founding ancestors of four secondary sections. These latter four are credited with a varying number of sons, as shown in the genealogy (Fig. 18-1).

One feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy immediately stands out from this brief description: the uniformity in the number of segments at the various levels of segmentation. Along the line of descent from Sa'ada to Nasr, the number of sons shown in the

[2] One of these, the 'Ailat Fayid, now only numbers about 150 souls, and although it is given the structural position of a tribe in the genealogy, it scarcely merits this distinction in practice.

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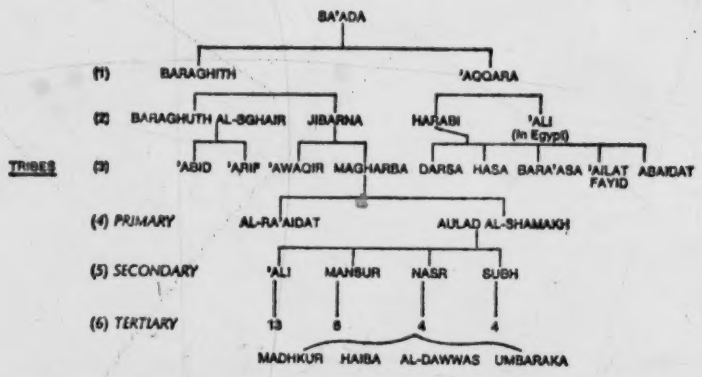


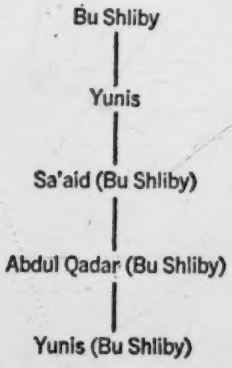
FIG. 18-1 GENEALOGY 1. The names given in this genealogy are the tribal names in use. All are derivatives of personal names of ancestors, like all tribal names, except for some nicknames (e.g. Baraghith means 'the fleas') and a few which refer to a general location (e.g. the Magharba means the 'Westerners'). [551]

first four descending generations is two. At the fifth level the number increases to four and finally, at the sixth level there characteristically occurs a marked irregularity in the number of descendants forming the founding ancestors of the tertiary sections. 173 613 619

Another feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy is that its branches show an intimate relationship with ecological areas. Thus, the major division into two branches stemming from Sa'ada represents the eastern and western halves of the country with associated and clear differences in ecology. Continuing the line of descent, the Jibarna and Baraghith groups of tribes occupy plain and mountain foot-hills respectively. The two Jibarna tribes in turn occupy two distinct kinds of plain. Following now the division of the Magharba tribe, its two primary sections are divided by a very conspicuous dry valley. The four secondary divisions of the Aulad ash-Shamakh primary section likewise show a relation to ecological boundaries, albeit on a smaller scale than those previously referred to, but none the less important in this more local context. Finally, the unevenly numbered tertiary sections which are derived from these four 613 619 13 182

tion which enable the genealogy to remain constant in length and fixed in form despite its dynamic content.

One of the main processes at work in foreshortening genealogies is that referred to by Evans-Pritchard as telescoping.[8] This process is also a characteristic feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy, although its effects, to be discussed presently, differ conspicuously. The way in which telescoping works in the Cyrenaican genealogy is that several male names come to be omitted in the genealogy below the name of the founding ancestor of the tertiary group. Usually, the form in which this occurs it that the name of a famous tribesman, and particularly his nickname if he has one, is retained along with the personal names of his lineal descendants in successive generations. The example given below is taken from the genealogy of the Haiba tertiary section of the Magharba tribe:



[8] 'It is evident, moreover, that since the minimal lineage consists of four or five actual steps in ascent, there has been telescoping of the agnatic line from the founder of the minimal lineage further up the line of ascent to the founder of the clan, for the founder of the minimal lineage was himself the extremity of another minimal lineage which has, by increase in generations, become the minor lineage, and so on' (Fortes & Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 199). Since Evans-Pritchard first wrote on the telescoping of genealogies among the Nuer, other anthropologists have discussed the process in various systems. Fortes, Richards, Laura Bohannan, Cunnison, and Mitchell in their writings on the Tallensi, Bemba, the Tiv, the Luapula people, and the Yao respectively are notable examples . . . As the mode of manipulation of Bedouin genealogies is marginal to my present problem, the main comparison is not with these works but with Evans-Pritchard's earlier work on the Nuer, because the Bedouin and Nuer lineage system have more in common than either have with the other systems, excepting possibly the Tiv.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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173 178 613 551 The line shows five male names in all. The eldest surviving members of this line is Sa'aid, who almost invariably is referred to, not by his personal name, but as Bu Shliby,[9] and on the infrequent occasions when his personal name is used it is followed by Bu Shliby and not by his father's name, which is the more common practice. Again, Abdul Qadar, when his father is not about, is called Bu Shliby, and when it is necessary to give him his personal name Bu Shliby is added, except among his more intimate family kindred, when only his personal name would be used. Likewise, his son Yunis carries Bu Shliby in addition to his personal name and is sometimes even referred to as Bu Shliby only. Abdul Qadar had never known his grandfather, was aware however of his existence in the past, but did not feel it necessary to use his name, and whatever obligation he might have felt to keep the memory of his grandfather alive, he fulfilled it when he named his son after him. Many of the older members of the group are also aware of the lineal connexions between Bu Shliby and Yunis, even though they use this knowledge in a genealogical context only, but many of the younger men of the group do not know these details. It is clear that when the boy Yunis grows to old age, three names in this line will have ceased to be used.

This practice of adding to a personal name the name of a deceased ancestor making one the son of the other, is pushed to the extent of carrying forward through the generations a nickname which referred to some peculiar characteristic of the ancestor, but which has little relation to the present bearer. Thus the ancestor whose name has been retained might have been nicknamed 'The Lame One' or 'The Squint-Eyed One' because he suffered either of these personal defects; or he might have been nicknamed 'The Old One' because he lived to a ripe old age. Such nicknames might later be carried by men who are not lame, nor squint-eyed, nor old, while the names of the intervening ancestors are dropped in normal use.

Another process is at work, which needs to be distinguished from telescoping, for although the results in genealogical terms are similar, Bedouin view it in quite a different light. This is the [553] process of fusing names. It is common practice among the Bed-

[193] [9] The prefix *Bu* is used by the Bedouin to mean 'son of.'

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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ouin—and, for that matter, Arabs in other lands—to name a boy after a deceased relative. Rarely is a boy named after his father, unless the father's death occurs before the boy is born, in which circumstance, the new-born boy would certainly take his father's name. A much more common form of this practice is to name a boy after his grandfather, assuming the latter to be dead. The eldest son usually accepts this responsibility, but it by no means falls invariably to him. There is a number of reasons for this, but they need not concern us here, since they are of no relevance to the general argument. What is of concern at present is that one name in the genealogy might represent the fusion of several other similar names. When circumstances permit, an individual's line might run as follows: Muhammad—'Ali—Muhammad—'Ali—Muhammad. It is true that the man himself and those closely related to him might know full well that there are three men named Muhammad and two named 'Ali, but it would not be considered irregular if only one Muhammad and one 'Ali were given in the genealogy. A mature man, giving his genealogy, omitted his father's name, Ibrahim. When asked about the omission, he insisted that he had given it, and when he was told that the name Ibrahim given by him was intended to refer to his young son, he impatiently dismissed the matter with the observation that having given the name Ibrahim once, it mattered little whether it had been put in the position of his son or father. Pointing to his son he added, 'There is my father, Ibrahim. He has taken my father's position, has he not?'

By the fusion of names, several persons drop out of the genealogy, and by and by, the line comes to be shortened. It also has the effect of giving a person's name a weighting which otherwise it would not possess. In a sense, a young son named after a father is not merely a son but a father and possibly a great-grandfather also. The young boy becomes the contemporary carrier of the personalities of those of similar name who have preceded him, while the behaviour of the living towards him is, in virtue of this, affected in a number of details. A man who had named his son in this way, explained the matter thus: 'He is my son, but also my father because he has his name. I cannot beat him for it would be like beating my father. When he grows up and I grow old, he will look after me as if I were his son.'

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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Fusion of names appears in another context and for similar reasons. Not only are lineal descendants given the name of deceased ancestors, but a man may be given the name of any deceased agnate of his tertiary section. Usually, this is only done when a man passes on property to another who is not his direct heir. Commonly, this occurs when an agnate is also a mother's brother, as often happens as a result of parallel cousin marriage, and this mother's brother has no sons of his own. If he has a sister's son, who is also his paternal nephew, he is likely to pass on his wealth to this nephew. A father, the Bedouin insist, ought to perform three duties for his sons: attend to their circumcision, and their education in the Koran, and provide bride-wealth when they marry. All fathers attend to the circumcision of all their sons; few provide for the Koranic education of any of their sons; most bear the burden of marrying off at least one of their sons. The performance of the latter duty is what makes the continuance of the deceased's name an obligation, and whoever performs this duty must have his name perpetuated in one male offspring of the union which was brought about with his wealth. Wealth need not take the form of bride-wealth; it can be a legacy willed by a father, maternal uncle of the kind described above, or any other agnate who has died without male issue. Conversely, if a man dies without leaving any property, even his sons might not perpetuate his name, and eventually it will drop out of the genealogy.[10] There are instances of men inheriting the wealth of a number of agnates, using each parcel of wealth to make a new marriage and naming the sons of the various unions after the several dead who had left wealth. The example given below is taken from the genealogy of the Dawwas section of the Magharba tribe. What happened here was that the two lines stemming from Faraj and Sha'aban, after proliferating normally, became extinct. As this happened, Ibrahim, the son of Miftah, began to inherit wealth to which he was not a direct heir; and

[10] To avoid confusion, it ought to be made clear that this is not ghost marriage. As I understand ghost marriages from Evans-Pritchard's (1951) account, two main conditions must be satisfied: (i) that there should be inherited wealth to make a marriage, and (ii) that the wealth remaining after the ghost marriage has been made is inherited by the ghost children only. In Cyrenaica, wealth thus inherited becomes part of a man's total wealth and is not reserved for a ghost marriage and its issue.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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as he did so, he entered into a plurality of marriages, begat sons, and replaced those men in the genealogy who had died without heirs. In the following generation the twin process of death and replacement continued. Death removed all the male descendants of Sha'aban and Faraj, and of Ibrahim Bu Miftah's many sons only two, Sharif and Abdallah, were of age to marry at the time of my visits to their camp. Both had enjoyed a plurality of wives, although still young to have done so, and each marriage they contracted took place after the death of one of their kinsmen. The full and intricate details of this interesting genealogy are irrelevant here, since all the example is intended to show is how nine of eleven male names were perpetuated in the genealogy by repeating five of them twice and four of them three times, accounting in all for twenty-two names; and to do this, three men (one of them had died, but the other two were both under forty years of age) married eight wives. All the names in the two lines which have died out have not yet been brought back into the genealogy, but 'Abdallah, the son of Ibrahim, who had already done extremely well in this respect, was confident that soon the obligations towards Musa, Abd al-Rahim, and Sa'ad would be redeemed.

Thus the fusion of names not only ensures that names threatened with extinction are perpetuated, but that one person, in the name he bears, can carry the genealogical burden of several other men of that name.

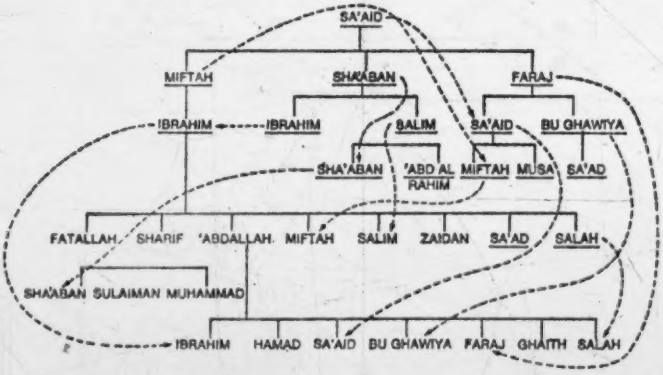

FIG. 18-2 GENEALOGY 2. The names of dead men are underlined.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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173 178 551 613 Telescoping of names, and fusion of names, taken together, can account for the fixity of the genealogy to a large extent. In addition, lines which showed every sign of normal development at one time, have petered out completely, even after they have sometimes assumed the status of tertiary segments. Conditions 173 under which this is likely to happen are not difficult to envisage. 178 If hearsay evidence is correct, disease, when it strikes in the 551 desert, might rage in a camp like wild fire, bringing death to 613 many, but not spreading to other camps, because the camps are 731 so far apart. Even in springtime when men and beasts are to- 361 gether in the pastures, and the larger summer camp has split into four or five smaller ones, the distance between camps may still be [221] a few miles. In summer, when camps are concentrated on the large watering points, the distances between them are considerably more. Disease, therefore, does not spread from camp to camp as rapidly as one might expect in such primitive conditions of living. In 1949 a number of men of a small camp died within a [761] few days of each other. Bedouin opinion attributed these deaths [784] to an allegedly false oath sworn by the deceased a year earlier. Medical opinion ascribed them to filth in a well which the deceased had been cleaning before their illness. In any event, a thriving line of a lineage was wiped off the genealogy. The por- 173 tion of the Dawwas genealogy shown on this page shows a 178 similar process at work. Again, to give another example, the Nasr 613 section of the Magharba tribe once included six tertiary sections, not four as are now given. Two of these six sections are now represented by only four men of whom two are too old and decrepit to have heirs any longer, and are unmarried in any case; a third, whose wife has long passed child-bearing age, had two sons, but both died before marriage; and the fourth, a very poor and old man, has only one daughter, and is a widower. Three of the four now live with their collateral tribal section, Madhkur, and count themselves members of this group. That they once belonged to two different groups might have passed unnoticed were it not that two elders of the Madhkur section insisted that they should be correctly placed and their entire genealogies be recorded. The younger men argued that although they were aware that the two groups named Farjiani and al-Khadhar at one time

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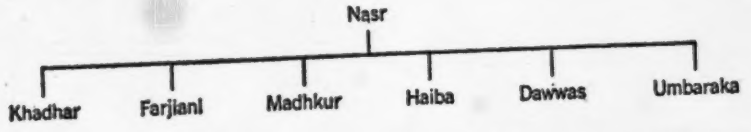
existed, it was pointless giving them separate status any longer; they were content to give the three men separate lines of a few



generations, and then to tag them on to Madhkur, the founding ancestor of the segment.

Telescoping, fusion of names, and the extinction of lines are three ways in which the general fixed shape of the genealogy is retained. These three processes are only sufficient, however, in special circumstances, but before discussing these circumstances one further general condition relating to these processes must be made explicit. All three affect the genealogy within the tertiary segments only, and do not affect it at any of the more superior orders of segmentation. There is not a shred of evidence from contemporary Cyrenaican genealogies to show that telescoping or fusion occurs except within the tertiary segment, within that group, in other words, where precise genealogical links are known and can be specified, and within that small group which for most part of the year constitutes a single settlement. It is possible that groups of structurally superior levels to the tertiary have become extinct, in the way that tertiary lines have petered out. There is no definite evidence to support this, and from the analysis of Cyrenaican genealogies in general it seems that when any group is threatened with extinction—and this in turn means that fewer and fewer people will be using the same land and water facilities—there is a definite tendency for the lineage rump to fuse with a collateral lineage (and in so doing fuse their resources with those of the adopting lineage), or for a numerically more powerful lineage group to take it over by force. The number of tertiary segments spanned by a secondary segment, therefore, increases or decreases according to the circumstances; so that a secondary segment, numerically strong in its tertiary segments to-day, may become considerably weaker in future, and the numerically weak secondary section of to-day may proliferate its segments substantially in the future. Short of a significant de-

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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cline in the total population of a tribe, then, the extinction of lines does not affect any order of segmentation superior to the tertiary. In this respect, the Cyrenaican genealogy differs fundamentally from those collected from the Nuer by Evans-Pritchard. In the quotation from his work on Nuer genealogies (1951), he asserts that telescoping occurs 'from the founder of the minimal lineage further up the line of ascent to the founder of the clan'. This major difference has serious implications for any discussion of lineage proliferation, but these must be left until the conditions under which proliferation is likely to occur have been analysed.

While it is true that the processes discussed are of importance in retaining the general shape of the genealogy, what is assumed so far is that the Cyrenaican population has been stable over long periods. Stability of population is not an unreasonable assumption to make for a people who live on the margin of subsistence in a country where extended periods of drought are not infrequent, though seldom leading, it is true, to actual famine conditions, but producing periodic and local food and water shortages. Disease, following quickly in the trail of shortage, it can be assumed, kept the relationship of total population to the natural resources fairly constant. What evidence there is does not support even this very general assumption, since it is known that there have been large-scale tribal wars in the past, and a certain amount of movement of tribes, some being displaced and others pushed eastwards into Egypt. Unless these shifts were caused by increases in the aggregate population and the consequent pressure on land and water, it is difficult to account for them. This consideration of possible overall increases in population in the past poses interesting problems related to lineage structure which cannot be adequately treated here. For the moment it is proposed to neglect possible increases in the total population during past periods in the history of Cyrenaica. The historical depth of the view now to be discussed is about seventy years, and for this period I have no evidence of any large-scale increases in population. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume a general stability of population for this period. But the vagaries of the Cyrenaican climate are such that, in a given year, one area might be well drenched with rain, giving excellent pastures for animals and good crops, while a nearby territorial strip might suffer a partial

drought giving insufficient pastures and poor crops. Good or bad crops, poor or abundant pasture, in turn mean a higher or lower milk yield from the animals and better or worse living conditions for human beings. Such factors as these may well, over a number of years, lead to unevenness in the distribution of population throughout the tertiary sections. Whatever the cause, the genealogies show that the population of the numerous tertiary sections is unequal. Some are numerically so weak that they have to join a collateral section. Others are numerically so strong that their natural resources are insufficient to meet the needs of all their members. It was these latter segments which were in the process of splitting, and which in some cases have already done so. The next task, then, is to demonstrate where, on the genealogy, proliferation is effected.

We have seen that in Nuer genealogies segments proliferate at all orders of segmentation. Here, the process is a continuous one, beginning at any point in time within the minimal lineage and progressing upwards to the apex of lineage bifurcation. As particular names become significant within the minimal segment, they are retained and become a permanent addition to the genealogy. In order to include these successively additional names, names of ascending ancestors are shunted further and further into the genealogical past, until presumably the effect is felt at the topmost limit of the genealogy, when the names here are pushed out of the genealogical framework altogether, and forgotten for ever. More than this, the upward shift in names at each and every point in the genealogical line means also a consequent re-ordering of structural relationships, at all levels in the system. One vital difference between Nuer and Bedouin societies which may partly, at least, account for the different genealogical processes at work among them is that the Nuer, when they were studied by Evans-Pritchard, were expanding territorially, and that continuous proliferation of segments throughout the structure was the mode of dealing with a situation of expansion. The Bedouin, on the other hand, had suffered twenty years of terrible privation at the hands of the Italians, during which period thousands of them died in battle and in concentration camps, were shot up in their camps from the air, or died from want, before I went to live among them. Although I must confess that I now

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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Although I must confess that I now find it difficult to accept Evans-Pritchard's view of genealogical growth and development as stated for the Nuer, it was the view I originally held with regard to Bedouin genealogies. Indeed, thinking in genealogical terms only, it appears inevitable that the addition of successive generations can only mean the lengthening of the genealogy, or, if the length is to remain constant, extrusion of ancestral names must take place at the apex of the genealogy. If this view is to be accepted, several other conclusions must be accepted with it. The genealogy, as far as it goes at least, is an accurate record of descent—some names may have been lopped off at the top, but otherwise the genealogy represents a faithful statement of succession. Again, if successive generations are to be added to the genealogy, then its base must continually expand laterally. From what is known of contemporary Bedouin genealogies, there is no evidence which leads to the supposition that their base is progressively widening. With regard to the authenticity of the names in the genealogy, above the point of tertiary segmentation, I hope to show in a subsequent article on Bedouin genealogies in general, that names above the tertiary point of segmentation have remained fixed for very long periods of time, and that they bear slight relation to the passage of generations over the last century at least; moreover, in this article I hope to demonstrate that what manipulation of the genealogy takes place does not affect more than about four or five ascending generations from the living.

Part of the difficulty in a study of this sort lies in the strong temptation to think of the genealogy *per se*, even though it is readily admitted that it has a value in itself for the Bedouin. Yet even in these terms the genealogy must always represent an ordered grouping of people, and these people live on strips of territory. The starting point of the analysis then ought to begin with the territorial ordering of groups of people. The relation of groups of people to land, moreover, is determined by the carrying capacity of that land, and it is this prerequisite which is the main variable in discussing genealogical manipulation, and not the other way about. The main landmarks of the Cyrenaican ecology are fixed points which cannot be manipulated to fit in with the genealogy; it is the genealogy which must be altered to comprehend the distribution of people in their ecological setting.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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If, moreover, the view of a genealogy as a continually expanding line of descent is to be accepted, it must be accepted also that large structural units, even in conditions of population stability, are to experience a continuous re-ordering of their structural relationships. In practice, what this means is that a tribe of, say 20,000 souls cease to be tribesmen of a named tribe and instead all become members of an almost identical group but with a different name. To take an example from the genealogy given [162] on page 365: the Magharba tribe shown there has a total population of some 13,000 souls. If proliferation affected the topmost limits of this tribe, the apical name disappears and presumably the name of one of the primary sections is to be substituted. That is, half the tribe would have to take on the lineage name of their opposed primary section. The only alternative to the use of the name of a primary segment as a substitute for the abandoned tribal name is the acceptance by 13,000 people of a totally new name, which is most unlikely.

It is reasonable to assume therefore, that the genealogy, in its general form, is fixed for long periods of time at least. This still leaves the problem of how and where adjustments are made to face the contingencies of birth and death, of the succession of generations, and of the irregular increases and decreases of population among the tertiary segments. An important clue lies in the number of segments which appear at the various orders of segmentation. From Sa'ada, the founding ancestress, in the line which runs to Nasr, each ancestor is shown as having a pair of sons for four orders of segmentation. At the fifth generation from Sa'ada—this is now the secondary order of segmentation within the tribe—the number of sons increases to four. Not all tribes will show the same number of sons at each generation as the Magharba—some, for example, might show three instead of two at the primary order—but what is true of all tribes is that there is evident consistency in the number down to and including the fifth generation from Sa'ada; if, that is to say, one of a tribe's primary segments is divided into three secondary sections, the other one or two, as the case may be, will be divided likewise. Throughout the tribes in Cyrenaica, then, segmentation of orders superior to the tertiary segments shows a pronounced consistency in their numbers.

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stretching across to the village of Ajadabiya in the east, topples in undulations away into the flat expanses of the desert to the south. At all these points of segmentation, the territories occupied by the various sections are large and roughly defined, and the population aggregates supported on these territories run from over a thousand at one end to tens of thousands at the upper limits. The tertiary sections are numerically much smaller, some of them numbering as few as a hundred souls in all, and the territories to which they are attached are correspondingly smaller. The relationship between the numbers in this order of section, and the precise amount of water available in the local wells is an intimate one. If the population of one of these groups increases, or if the number of animals rises, or if the springs show a decline in the volume of water they give forth, or if the winter rainfall has allowed the storage in wells of only a small quantity of water, a rearrangement of the group must be effected. A significant alteration of any one of these components must mean that the local group must split to enable a new adjustment to be made in the relationship of man and animals to water.

Whatever changes occur within groups of any size, since the genealogy embraces the entire population, these must appear on the genealogy in some way or other. Now a genealogy is as rigid a framework, as fixed and final a pattern of grouping, as can be imagined. The impression that they are thus rigid and fixed, except for the addition of successive generations, is strengthened by the way in which the Bedouin use them. From their young boys to their old men, the Bedouin are expert genealogists, and the names of ancestors, for one reason or another, are never far from their lips. Names are kept alive by constant use, since all references to inter-group relationships must be in terms of these names. More than this, the Bedouin were proud to the point of boastfulness of their genealogical knowledge, and, wherever I travelled, the first request I had to comply with was to take down a large portion of a tribal genealogy. In recording their endless genealogies, one feature about them came to assume increasing interest; while there was remarkable unanimity with regard to most of the names given, there was one point of marked ambiguity—at the tertiary level of segmentation. I recorded genealogies in four tribes on an extensive scale, and in each tribe

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ambiguity surrounding the actual names and their correct position occurred at about the fifth ascending generation. Whenever this point was reached in the recordings, arguments would flare up over the names to be included or excluded and over the relation of these names to those above and below, with the result that for several people of the same segment there would be several versions of a genealogy which differed only at this one point. An example of this sort is given below from the genealogy of the Nasr section, which shows seven different versions of the arrangement of ancestors round about the fifth ascending generation from the living.

The confusion at and around the fifth ascending generation appeared with such regularity in the genealogies that I feel justified in referring to it as 'the area of ambiguity'. It seems likely, moreover, that in any society where the lineage structure is closely tied to the territorial disposition of groups, since the genealogy is so rigid, there needs to be in it somewhere an area of ambiguity if it is to be related to reality. Without this ambiguity, the form of the genealogy is too rigid to comprehend changes which occur. This point in the genealogy came to assume critical significance as the point where adjustments in it are made. Other kinds of evidence point to the same conclusion.

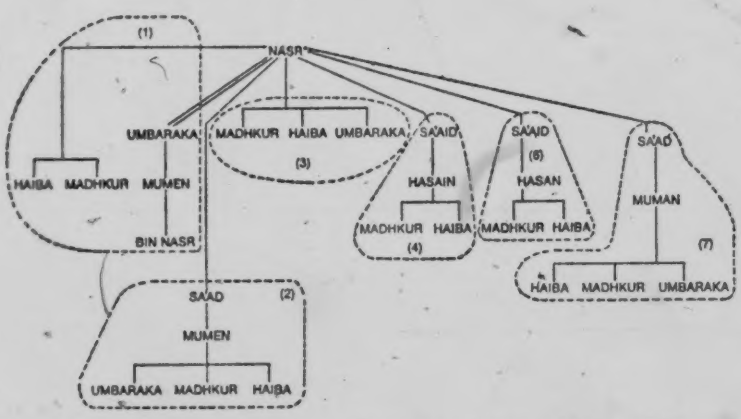

FIG. 18-3 GENEALOGY 3. *There is another section, al-Dawwas, which belongs to this group, but to include this as well would greatly complicate the issue without giving any additional information.

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There are, in Cyrenaica, three major status groups among the tribes: the noble or free-born tribesmen (*al-Hurr*), those who have been adopted or grafted on to a tribe (the *Laff*), and the clients (*Marabtin*).

Those who claim to be free-born also claim ownership of the natural resources. The *Laff* do not own these. They are people thought not to have originally been of the lineage of the tribe with which they are resident. They are found sometimes in ones and twos in the camps of the free-born, but sometimes constituting tertiary groups themselves. Now when such people have resided with their free-born hosts for several years and one of them has married one of the host's daughters, they are grafted to the genealogy at the point of tertiary segmentation, that is, where ambiguity occurs in the genealogy. Obviously, persons thus grafted to the lineage cannot be shown as descendants of one of the living or of the recently dead, remembered perhaps by some of the elders still living. It is equally true to say that they cannot be grafted to the lineage at a point superior to that of the tertiary segments, since this would involve recognition by a number of tertiary groups whose members may know little or nothing about them. When a person enters a new tribe, the only way in which he can do so is to go to live in a camp, and it is the concern of the people of that particular camp whether or not they accept him, since it is they who have to decide whether their resources are sufficient to support a newcomer. Once a man has been accepted as a full member of a tertiary section, membership of superior tribal sections is automatic, although to enter into tribal membership he requires the permission of members of a tertiary section only. To graft at a point superior to the tertiary would be the same as giving a man superior structural status, but without a camp in which to dwell. There is only one place for his incorporation, and that is where the ambiguity in the genealogy permits manipulation to include new lines. In this way the adoption of a person into a lineage does not offend the sense of kinship of the receiving group since the point of inclusion is an ancestor about whom little or nothing is known and whose authenticity is frequently doubted by some. What has been referred to as an area of ambiguity is, moreover, something of a jumble of names, and it is not a difficult matter, if a new line has to be

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attached somewhere along the line, to attach it to one of these names. Bedouin welcome, as members of their camps, practically anyone who wishes to join, even, in the case of one group, an Italian. The limit to this acceptance of members is, of course, the number of people who can be supported by the local resources. If people are being admitted freely to membership of a particular camp, this means that there is a local surplus of land and water, so that the number of grafts being supported by any particular section is a useful index of the extent to which the resources are being used. Conversely, as sometimes happens when grafted elements become numerous, or when the water supply, for various reasons, dwindles, it may be necessary to detach a grafted group. Such action is always the occasion of a violent dispute, usually over watering rights, and not infrequently fights break out. Whether or not the grafted group wins, from then onwards it will be forced to exist as an independent group, and a new tertiary section will have been born. No matter which of the processes involving grafts is considered—incorporation or detachment—both are contained within the framework of the tertiary section, without any effect on the rest of the structure.

The position of the clients, in the context of this discussion, is not unlike that of the grafts. Briefly, clients are men who are considered to have originated from a country other than Cyrenaica, and who for this reason cannot claim rights to land and water—at least this is the theory, although in some circumstances they are able to do so successfully. They are of various kinds, but they are not included in the genealogies given by the free-born. Clients are found grouped in two main ways. There are some large groups which constitute tribes in the sense that they display a genealogical and territorial organization like those of the free-born, and are usually to be found flanking the main tribes of the country on their borders. Some of these are powerful groups and enjoy considerable independence of action, but whatever their characteristics they none the less speak of themselves as 'for' or tied to the noble tribe whose territory includes theirs. Further, the sections of these client tribes have their special ties with tertiary sections of the noble tribes, which are not merely ties of sentiment, but which take the form of valuable mutual help in a number of situations. A whole client tribe, in the sense that it is

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619 change their structural position only rarely. The latter change
621 sometimes does, however, occur, and there is evidence to show
182 that it does. For example, Agostini (1922–23, p. 323) in his tribal
166 survey, records a section named Barsha as one of the groups stem-
613 ming from Nasr.[12] In the genealogies I was given, the name did not appear, and even after some questioning, what information was known about it was concealed. Some time later the name
[578] cropped up accidentally in conversation, and I was then told that at one time it had been one of the Nasr groups, but that after a quarrel during a year of water shortage, the Barsha folk went to live with people with whom they had maternal connexions, and in whose territory there was ample water that year, and never returned. The group, a tertiary one, was detached from the tertiary point of segmentation in the genealogies, and tied on to a tertiary group of another tribe in its new homeland.

178 To summarize briefly the argument thus far, the mechanical
173 devices of telescoping, fusion of names, the ejection of those
619 names which cease to be of any social consequence, and the
621 elision of names at or around the fifth ascending generation,
613 taken together point to the importance of the tertiary order of segmentation in discussing the problem of maintaining the form of the genealogy constant in face of its natural tendency to alter; further, evidence of changes (adoption into a lineage, detachment from it, the inclusion and exclusion of clients) was presented, and this again led to the conclusion that the tertiary point of segmentation is critical in this respect. This being so, the man-
[128] ner in which change actually occurs, still remains to be shown, and this is best done, perhaps, by discussing the mode of proliferation of tertiary segments. In order to do this adequately, it is necessary to say something briefly about certain features of Bedouin marriage.

582 Among the Bedouin there exists a preferential form of marriage
605 between a man and his father's brother's daughter. Parallel cousin marriage of this sort carries with it the exclusive right of a man to this cousin. Without his consent no one else can marry her, and to attempt to do so would be to risk the marriage arrangements being nullified after negotiations had almost been

[114] [12] Barsha's position is incorrectly given as a sub-group of Haiba; it should be shown as structurally equivalent to Haiba. See also note 11.

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the interests they have in their maternal relatives. Stated thus sharply, this is a distortion of the process. To speak of the principle of agnation conflicting with the principle of cognation or maternal origin is nonsense, as the facts included in the discussion show. Agnation is not one thing, but many. Within its scope are included such aspects of social organization as succession, status, inheritance, bride-wealth, blood-money, modes of domestic and political behaviour, and so forth; and each of these aspects, the closer we stick to reality, can be broken up into a number of components. The same can be said of cognation and maternal origin. All these principles, so called, are clusters of numerous component parts, which combine, in reality, in a kaleidoscopic number of ways. In one situation a component of one combines with that of another to strengthen it; in a different situation the one component may repel the other; in a third situation, a number of the components in one will combine to exclude those of the other, and so on. If, therefore, an understanding of the way in which lineage proliferation occurs is sought, a view of the process as a conflict between the principle of agnation and the opposing pull of maternal origin is quite erroneous. It is of use in predicting the direction of cleavage to know that within a tertiary group there are also clusters of kin which are defined roughly by maternal links, and this knowledge serves as a rough and ready guide in predicting what the composition of groups, after they have split away from the parent group, will be. If a more precise picture of this composition is desired, other and more complex kinship links and the behaviour which accompanies them must be taken into account. If a still more accurate picture is desired, details of inheritance disputes, debts of bride-wealth, the size of flocks and herds, and the like, must also be taken into consideration. If, finally, one has the opportunity to study groups after they have proliferated, the presence or absence of this or that man can often be explained only in terms of his eye for a pretty girl or a personal preference for neighbours.

The kind of change which has been discussed in this essay is not difficult to negotiate in genealogical terms. Earlier it was stressed that within the tertiary tribal sections, although they are always predominantly agnatic groups, clusters of cognatic

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613 602 121 178 621 173 551 kin also exist. Two ways of naming these clusters are adopted—all groups, whether they are elementary families, an odd assortment of kindred sharing a common tent for reasons of expediency, or tribal groups, have a name. Sometimes these clusters are named after a prominent living male, or a deceased kinsman of the same kind. Sometimes these little groups are named after a woman, perhaps the grandmother of the group.[15] Thus a small group of two or three tents will be distinguished from another similar cluster within the camp, and so on for a number of groups, depending on the size of the camp. Most camps, however many tents they contain, have names for progressively inclusive clusters of tents until a twofold named division is reached. Tertiary segments that are forced to split contain therefore two groups with names already attached to them. When a split occurs, the name of the tertiary segment is pushed into the area of ambiguity and the names of what were previously two clusters become the names of two new tertiary segments, with a minimum adjustment in usage and a minor re-shuffle at the tertiary level of segmentation. Names cannot continue to be pushed into this area of the genealogy interminably, otherwise it would gradually expand into a vast pool of names. For a few generations the name dispensed with in this way becomes one of those ancestors about whom there is argument when genealogies are given. In the course of time, name after name is subjected to the process of elision and eventually will cease to be of concern to anyone.

105 613 173 178 [551] I now summarize the main points of the discussion. The evidence that has been examined suggests that the mechanical devices of telescoping, fusion of names, and extinction of lines do not affect orders of segmentation superior to that of the tertiary order, and that in conditions of a completely stable population, these devices alone would suffice to retain the form of the genealogical structure. But, it was argued, conditions of complete stability cannot be assumed; the evidence of the present distribution of population among the numerous tertiary groups clearly points to marked fluctuations occurring within these small groups. This being so, proliferation of these groups in some areas at some

[15] The naming of groups within a tertiary segment is an interesting study in itself, but it would be outside the limits of this discussion to make more than a brief mention of it.

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times, must follow, and conversely, while proliferation takes place here, combination will be taking place elsewhere as the population of groups decreases. The condition which compels proliferation is the alteration in the relationship of man and animals to the natural resources; and when this alteration builds up to an acute pressure on water and land, one group of a divided segment must move off to seek water elsewhere.

The next task was to demonstrate where this kind of change occurred on the genealogy. The sudden irregularity in the number of segments at the tertiary order, compared with the uniformity at others, provided a clue. Other evidence also pointed to this as a significant order in this context: there is ambiguity displayed with regard to the identity and positioning of ancestors here; members adopted into a lineage are grafted on to it here; clients are attached to tertiary sections; groups of noblemen, when they are detached and move off to another tribe, break away at this point. This is where change occurs, but, it was agreed, in understanding the way in which it takes place, certain forms of marriage have to be taken into account. Particular emphasis was placed on cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter, and to women outside the tertiary segment, since the effect of these forms of marriage is to produce two or more clusters of cognatic kindred in camps largely composed of agnates, and to emphasize the line of cleavage in a lineage segment. So that when, therefore, a split occurs, the line it takes is predetermined. Proliferation, even when necessary, does not finally come about, however, until an occasion permits the separation of groups to be demonstrated by a violation of the conditions of membership of a group. Details of three such occasions were offered: the demand for blood-money between agnates who previously had constituted a politically undivided section; behaviour contrary to the demands of agnatic kinship in attendance and gift-giving at funerals; and failure to participate in a pilgrimage to the saint's tomb of a particular section. But another query remained: how are the newly formed groups named? It was seen that names already in daily use by the small group of people concerned came to assume a new significance, while the name which had previously spanned them all is disregarded and pushed into the area of ambiguity whence later it is elided altogether.

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Change due to the normal and inevitable process of proliferation is thus managed within the structural limits of the tertiary section without disturbing any of the superior orders in the system. The latter remain fixed over long periods, but the tertiary sections of a particular secondary action may be reduced in number over a few generations while another secondary section may show a corresponding increase in the number of its segments.

By combining the various factors involved in change, it is possible to understand the details of lineage proliferation, or at least to travel along a well signposted road. In the light of this analysis, moreover, it is unnecessary to assume a stable population in each and every segment over long periods; the mechanisms of readjustment allow for substantial irregularities and fluctuations in population. It is possible that they are also sufficient to contain significant increases in the aggregate population. They could almost certainly control minor fluctuations, but it is seriously doubted whether a population increase sufficient to produce a country-wide and acute water shortage could be met merely by the proliferation of tertiary lineage segments. But to deal with this problem other aspects of the Bedouin genealogy and details of Cyrenaican history, which have necessarily been omitted from this discussion, would have to be taken into account, and this is best left for another article.

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celebrated war between the 'Abaidat and the Bara 'asa tribes occupying a large part of central and eastern Cyrenaica. This war took place a hundred years ago, so that the evidence is mainly hearsay, but it is significant that when asked for details of the groups taking part the Bedouin make it clear that the entire tribes were not at war—some sections on both sides are said to have remained on friendly terms. Yet when wars are discussed in a general fashion, the Bedouin insist that tribes confront each other as such. If it is pointed out to them that men might be ranged against their maternal relatives the Bedouin mumble apologetically that they would not kill their maternal relatives—a lame argument since in the heat of battle men cannot make this kind of discrimination. Details of other wars also illustrate the point that only parts of tribes face each other in strife, for though the stories of past events may be inaccurate there is genealogical evidence to substantiate their claims that certain groups were linked in the past, and in any case their statements assert that where these links exist they are not prepared to engage in hostilities. The several parts of each tribe, like the parts of primary and secondary sections, have as many different sorts of relationships as there are groups, and the general statement that tribes are warring units merely obscures the interest there is in their relationships. Tribes, further, lack the leadership to make war. I repeat that leadership does exist, but not even the greatest leaders, past or present, can rightly be described as leaders of their tribes, using the term in its structural connotation. Literature on the subject gives the impression that there are tribal leaders, because successive administrations have used the tribes and their divisions as a framework for attempting to rule the Bedouin, but the details of the power domains of individual leaders make it clear that they have little to do with the ordered divisions of tribes. A leader within part of one tribe may carry with him tertiary sections of another tribe, and if major hostilities break out between parts of these tribes, the sections of both which are joined as allies and related as kinsfolk will not fight against each other, for sections so linked enjoy stronger connexions than the structurally linked tertiary sections of a very large secondary section. Consequently the statement that homicide results in tribal war when the offender and his victim are members of two separate tribes is not merely incomplete, not merely a simplification, it is wrong.

A point which has been implicit throughout the second part of this paper needs now to be made quite explicit: groups do not come together in their respective structural genealogical orders. During my entire residence in Cyrenaica I did not see a group of agnates larger than a tertiary tribal section assemble for any purpose. It is true that the occasions when large groups are required to assemble are infrequent. It is also true that although the British Administration was serving a caretaker role only, it may have had an affect on the nature of tribal gatherings. Despite this qualification, there were several occasions when I expected tribal groups to assemble in lineage order if the fusion of sections in relation to like sections has any meaning in practice. Large groups of men did gather to dispute claims to wells, to argue about rights to ploughland, and to make peace. In every case that I recorded the agnatically closest groups of the main participants were absent, while members of genealogically more remote groups were present in strength. This statement applies to gatherings in the camps and in the administrative centres. One of the biggest gatherings I witnessed assembled in an administrative office in a village near the coast in the

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sections constituting the combinations which makes the facts of feud intelligible. Furthermore, several different types of power structures exist which serve the different interests of the people composing them, and these are interlinked in combinations of superior span. But the formation of these structures and the modes in which they combine are quite unlike the articulations in a lineage system. Characteristically, the segments in a lineage system are conceived of as building up hierarchically to span what is spoken of as a total society, the apex of the system affording a spectacular and fixed definition of its boundaries. Had I been using this concept in this paper the founding ancestress of the nine Cyrenaican tribes, Sa'ada as named by the Bedouin, would have served this purpose and would have been given inappropriate prominence. The views presented here have the consequences of retreating from a concept of a total society. The people to whom the facts given are related are the camel-herding tribes only. Some of them have relations of many kinds with the cow-herding folk who inhabit the northern plateau area, and these relations are also significant for the analysis of a wide range of problems; genealogically both cow and camel herders are seen as part of a single structure, but the differences between them with regard to their economy, the size, composition, and distribution of their residential units, their political and ritual life is so great that to conceive of them as a single social structure is not useful. Moreover, the far western tribal sections have relationships of such urgency with their neighbours in Tripolitania (who are excluded from Cyrenaican genealogies) that to cut off these relationships as lying outside Cyrenaican society would be quite unwarranted. The same can be said of the relationships of the tribal sections in the eastern part of Cyrenaica with their genealogical cousins, the Aulad 'Ali of Egypt, who, although residing across a national border, are closely linked to some of the Cyrenaican Bedouin. Some tribes also have to rely on the people of the southern oases for an item of diet and an outlet for surplus wool, and the net of kinship is spread out to include them. In these cases they come into contact with other ethnic groups such as Berbers and Tibu, and through the oases they extend their lines of communication southwards to Wadai, Chad, and Bornu. As an indication of the effectiveness of these links, it is only necessary to add that people inhabiting Cyrenaica make periodic and regular visits to these far southern places, and that in 1948 a shaikh, living near Ajadabiya in south-western Cyrenaica, collected blood-money contributions from kinsmen in Wadai. A single structure cannot possibly include, for analytical purposes, these sorts of relationships.

Finally, it must be stressed that the facts given here refer to the period 1948 to 1950. Since then oil has been discovered in large quantities near the territory of a tribe where I spent most of my time while resident in the country, and where there was one tin shack in 1950 there is now a modern port with roads extending southwards from it into the wilderness. I see no reason to assume that social relations as I observed them are present today or that they were the same at any time in the past either. Before the advent of the Sanusi Order in the early eighteen-forties, it is known that one lineage at least was dominantly powerful and that its leader tyrannized a large part of Central Cyrenaica.[1] His descendants constituted a powerful group in

[1] Smith and Porcher, 1864. These two archaeologists met this leader and continued their archaeological researches around Cirene only with his goodwill, although the site is not on the territory of his tribe as I knew it in 1950. They also speak of him as inhabiting a castle which also lies outside the

9: Murray E. K-3, 4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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619 The independent Sa'adi tribes fall into four groups :

1. The Jawazi, Fawayid, and Rammah, all of common origin with the 'Awaqir of Cyrenaica.
2. The Harabi and Bar'asa, both of common origin with the 'Ibeidat of Cyrenaica.
3. The Hanadi, and
4. The Awlad 'Ali

[173] The original ancestor whom these Sa'adi all claim is one Abu Dib, said to be of Suleim descent.

175 554 619 This sheikh was a real personage and a contemporary of Ibn Khaldun (who died in A.D. 1406). He was sheikh of the Beni Ja'afir, and a man of great importance in Barka, the very place that the four tribes inhabited for centuries before they came to Egypt. Also the period of fifteen or sixteen generations, which the modern Bedouin assert to separate them from Abu Dib, agrees with this chronology well enough.[1]

619 [173] Some are found to assert that their title of Sa'adi "helping" is derived from an ancestress called Sa'ada, the wife of Abu Dib, or, according to a hostile account, of a Jew called Yana. But the real explanation of the term has already been given above.

619 651 At the present day a sort of feudal system prevails both in Egypt and Cyrenaica, by which families are *mrabit*,[2] or vassal families, not tribes to tribes ; thus the Qat'an tribe of Murabitin is divided, one part vassal to a family of Awlad 'Ali el-Ahmar, another to the Sinaqra, and a third to the Sinana. For a tribute called "alms", which by hereditary obligation each Mrabit family must pay, the Sa'adi family to which it is attached is bound to afford the Mrabit family protection in all minor difficulties of life, such as robbery by another family of Sa'adi, etc.

Thus a "Mrabit" family by paying tribute can herd its flocks in peace, calling upon the Sa'adi to see that justice is done them, but they are bound to join the Sa'adi to fight with them in any serious conflict with other tribes.

Among the "Mrabit" tribes of the present day are the Jumei'at, Qat'an, and Awlad Suleiman, all claiming as common ancestor one Ka'b, and feudal relations are

[1] The pedigrees of which these Western Bedouin are so proud can only be trusted so far back as the individual whose name a subdivision has adopted, such as Kharûf in the Awlad Kharûf pedigree. Taking them separately, the pedigrees will be found to dovetail into each other up to that point, but beyond it things become problematical.

[2] Sing. of "Murabitin".

9: Murray E.K-3.4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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maintained to this day in the desert between the last two and the Sa'adi, though they are relaxed in the cultivation.

The Jumei'at, who used to be "Murabitin" to the Beni 'Una, are now nominally so to the Awlad 'Ali, but are not required to pay tribute. Other tribes, such as the Jawabis and 'Awarma, are in an intermediate stage between the Sa'adi and the Murabitin. The Awlad 'Abd es-Sallam, the Samalus ed-Diminat, and perhaps the Fawakhir, call themselves "Murabitin bil Baraka", a priestly caste which, in Tripoli, used to receive special privileges from the Turkish Government.

Though the Sa'adi tribes despise the Murabitin as serfs, they respect them for their piety and resort to them for the writing of charms.

While the Murabitin tribes generally may be suspected to contain more Libyan blood than the Sa'adi, there are other tribes such as the 'Amayim, the Jahama, and the Tarhuna, who have come to Egypt from further west than any of the above, and who seem to be quite definitely "Berber", though, of course, none of them will admit it. These are known euphemistically as 'Arab el-Gharb.

Even some of the Juheina, settled east of the Nile in Sharqiya, are scorned by Klippel as "d'origine berbère, se pretendant section d'une tribu d'Arabie".[1]

Awlad 'Ali.—This tribe, by far the most important of the Western Bedouin, occupies with its vassals the whole north coast of Egypt from Salum to Alexandria. Like the others, they claim descent from the Beni Suleim, alleging their ancestor 'Ali, son of 'Aqar, to be a grandson of that Dib, or Abu Dib, mentioned by Ibn Khaldun. Their enemies, however, allege that he was a Jew. "When the 'Arabs occupied the north coast of Africa, there was a notable, a Jew, who owned property at Saqiet el-Hamra in Morocco. This man welcomed and entertained the Arab sheikh Ez-Zanati. He became very popular with the sheikh, who gave him his daughter named Sa'ada, on condition that he embraced Islam before the marriage contract was made out."[2] Another version calls the Jew Yana, and says that he had two daughters. Of these Sa'ada was the

[1] E. Klippel, "Etudes sur le folklore Bédouin de l'Egypte," *Bull. Soc. Khédiv. de Géogr.*, vii. 10, Cairo, 1911.

[2] From information collected by Muhammad Bey Wasfi.

9: Murray E.K-3,4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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ancestress of the Awlad 'Ali and Hind of the Hanadi. (The Hanadi call their ancestress Hind, the daughter of Sallam.) These obvious fabrications only mean that their conventional genealogy is not believed outside the tribe. But the Awlad 'Ali themselves all agree that 'Ali was the son of 'Aqar bin Dib.

They are now a composite tribe made up of the descendants of 'Ali's three sons, and various fragments of broken tribes. The Awlad 'Ali lived for a long time in the "Green Mountain" of Cyrenaica, and about 150 years ago began to drift eastwards, called into Egypt by the Jumei'at to aid them against the Hanadi, who, with their subtribes, were then in possession not only of the north coast but were also settled all over the Beheira.

After the departure of the French in 1801, a firman was addressed to the sheikhs of the Hanadi, Afrad (a division of the Awlad 'Ali), Jumei'at, Beni 'Una, and other Arabs resident in Beheira, confirming them in their territories, but threatening them with expulsion and fine if they misbehaved themselves.[1]

By 1808, the Hanadi seem to have been quite driven out by the Awlad 'Ali, for in that year they bought their peace with Muhammad 'Ali and asked for the restitution of their lands in Beheira. The Pasha agreed to this and sent troops under Shahin Bey to chase the Awlad 'Ali out again. The Awlad 'Ali responded by offering 100,000 "tallaris" to be allowed to remain in the lands of the Hanadi—an offer which Muhammad Ali accepted. When they failed to pay up, troops were again sent to aid the Hanadi against them, but this combined force was completely defeated by the Awlad 'Ali near Hosh 'Isa.[2]

Of the events of 1810, Jabarti says :

> "During his stay at Alexandria, he (Muhammad Ali) gave safe conduct to the chiefs of the Bedouins of the tribe of Awlad Ali who lived in the province of Beheira, and by this ruse enticed them to him ; but hardly had they arrived than he had them arrested, claimed large sums from them, and sent his soldiers to carry off their cattle ; their wives and their children were dishonoured. He then gave them robes of honour."[3]

Finally he exiled the Hanadi to Sharqiya, then a desert, and gave the Awlad 'Ali their lands on the coast and in Beheira.

[1] Jabarti, vii, 78–80. [2] Jabarti, viii, 171 and 179–180. [3] Jabarti, viii, 300.

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436 of thinking in money, and they reckon blood-money in cash
178 (£300) and not in camels, as Bedouin should.

484 The more adventurous make, annually, long and waterless
245 journeys to the oases of Siwa and Bahariya to remove the date crop, and, after their own wants are provided for, a good profit usually results from the sale of the remainder.

181 An Egyptian critic, who should know them only too well,[1] calls them "haughty, independent, and untrustworthy in character. They are dull and so abnormally lazy that they have no desire whatever to do more than they learnt (when young)". But he puts this down to the nature of the country; less generous critics ascribe the nature of the country to them!

173 Besides the descendants from 'Ali's three sons, 'Ali el-
619 Abyad, 'Ali el-Ahmar, and Sineina, a large section called Sinaqra reckons its descent from Sinqir, a mysterious white man who was wrecked and washed up on the coast near Salum some time in the seventeenth century.[2] These are the true Awlad 'Ali, whose sections live mingled together in the most intricate fashion. Among them live also the Jumei'at, who invited them into the country, and various families of other *murabitin*, such as Qat'an, Awlad Suleiman, Hawara, Habun, etc.
619 To distinguish themselves from their vassals, the Awlad 'Ali call themselves *hurr* free, and the *murabitin* are divided into various grades, according as they pay tribute or not.

The Awlad 'Ali are divided into three main divisions, with section (*badanat*) and subsections (*'eilat*) as follows. Some of these are so numerous that they practically constitute fresh tribes of their own.

I. Awlad Kharuf

[173] These are the descendants of 'Ali el-Abyad ("The White"), the eldest son of 'Ali bin 'Aqar bin Dib, and are subdivided again into:

Section.	*Subsections.*
(1) 'Eilet Bu Hindi	'Eilet Bu Zayyana, 'Eilet Bahiya, 'Eilet Da'ud
(2) 'Eilet Bu Diya	'Eilet Ibrahim, 'Eilet Jereisat
(3) Awlad Mansur	El-Afrad, El-Tawa'il, 'Eilet 'Abd Allah

[1] Muhammad Bey Wasfi, for many years Inspector at Borg el-'Arab.
[2] Their sheikh told Hamilton in 1853, there were seven generations between him and Sinqir.

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(SINAQRA)

The Sinaqra, or descendants of Sinqir, are also reckoned among the descendants of Ali the White, "because Sinqir married his daughter Khadija." They include :— 619 173•

(4)	Afrad	Maghawra
(5)	Azayim	'Eilet el-Abdi, Muwamna
(6)	'Eilet Eleura	'Eilet Jeballa, 'Eilet Omar, 'Eilet Harun, 'Eilet Ajarma, 'Eilet Tahir.

II.

The descendants of 'Ali bin 'Aqar's second son, 'Ali el-Ahmar ("The Red") are:—

(1)	'Esheibat	'Eilet ed-Dawi, 'Eilet el-Azraq, El-Wassafa, 'El-Lazumi
(2)	Kimeilat	'Eilet el-Hajj Muhammad, El-Maharsa, 'El-Khadayij
(3)	Jineishat [1]	'Eilet el-Majduba, Es-Samayil, Tabak

III. SINANA

The Sinana are the descendants of Sineina, the third son of Ali bin 'Aqar bin Dib. They include:—

(1)	Mahafid	'Eilet Etman, 'Eilet el-Hammama, 'Eilet esh-Shimla
(2)	Arawa	'Eilet ez-Zireiriya, 'Eilet el-Ghazulat
(3)	Qatifa	'Eilet Nasralla, 'Eilet-Omar, Esh-Shawalha.
(4)	Ijna	

Jawabis.—The nomadic Jawabis (sing. Jibusi) are for the most part still settled in and around the Wadi Natrun, where General Andreossy found them in Napoleon's time. He calls them : 619 175 [131]

> "A hospitable tribe who lead a shepherd's life and encamp there every winter with their flocks. They are employed during this time carrying Natrun and prickly reeds ; they also have some traffic in dates, which they fetch in caravans from Sioua in the Ammonian Oasis ; it is a journey of twelve to fifteen days. These Arabs are *marabouths*, or peaceful people." [2]

He goes on to say they never make war, and only take up arms to defend themselves. In his time the tribe was composed of about 2,000 men, and possessed 60 horses. A little [162] [231] [162]

[1] Kennett gives the three subdivisions of the Jineishat as Madi, Samayil, and Jabr.
[2] *Memoirs Relative to Egypt*, 288.

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later Wilkinson estimated them at about 400 men near El Terrana and the Wadi Natrun.

At the present day they are still reckoned *Murabitin*, but, like the Jumei'at, are sufficiently independent not to have to pay tribute. They share with the Awlad 'Ali in the date traffic with Bahariya Oasis, where the produce of the village of Mandisha is reserved for them, and that from Bawitti for the Awlad 'Ali.

Kennett notes (p. 54) that they demand £400 for blood-money instead of £300, the usual price in the Western Desert, and alludes (p. 67) to :

> "The free and easy way in which the Gawabees tribe near the Wadi Natrun pack up their summer tents and leave them in situ while they themselves trek off with their winter tents into the open desert for the winter grazing is indicative of this code of honesty prevailing among them."

On page 101, he calls them "nearly all very small men, with strangely similar features and characteristics running through all the families of the tribe".

Bramly has collected three pedigrees of the tribe all going back to Sheikh 'Abd el-Jawad el-Kassar. They state that they are an offshoot from the Qadadfa, and about 500 years ago left Saqiet el-Hamra in Morocco to settle in Egypt.

As a reward for "settling some affairs in the Wadi Natrun", Muhammad 'Ali Pasha granted them the usual Bedouin privilege of exemption from military service. There are small colonies of them elsewhere among the Awlad Ali, while others are settled in the cultivated provinces of Giza, Beheira, Menufiya, and Gharbiya.

Jumei'at.—This tribe, possibly a remnant of the original Libyan inhabitants of Mariut, is of quite respectable antiquity, for Ibn Khaldun includes the Jumei'at as a subtribe of "Beni 'Ali", themselves an offshoot from Beni Suleim. Whether his "Beni 'Ali" are the same as the modern Awlad 'Ali may be questioned, yet it is a reasonable assumption, for the exchange of the words "Beni" and "Awlad" in tribal names can be paralleled elsewhere.

The Jumei'at all agree that their remote ancestor, whom they share with the Awlad Suleiman and the Qat'an, was called Ka'b, and a Ka'b indeed appears in the pedigree ascribed

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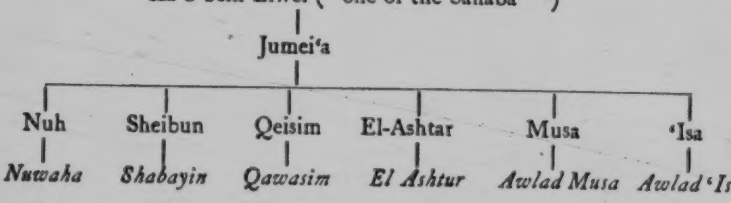
to Dib by Ibn Khaldun, who calls Dib a descendant of Ka'b, the great-grandson of Suleim.[1] If this be true, the Jumei'at must be an elder branch than any of the Sa'adi tribes, among whom the Awlad 'Ali are included. But in actual fact, the Awlad 'Ali do not consider the Jumei'at as of Sa'adi origin, that is, descendants of Abu Dib and his wife Sa'ada, but despise them as Murabitin or vassals, though they pay no tribute.

All this may be interpreted to mean that they are among the oldest inhabitants of Western Egypt. They have been in Egypt "seven hundred years" according to one of their sheikhs, Sa'ad Bey el-Masri, and a pedigree given me by another, Sheikh 'Ilwani Suleiman, who lives near Sidi 'Abd el-Rahman, runs :



The Jumei'at of Mariut are all descended from El-Ashtar, while the offspring of the other five sons are settled in Beheira, Gharbiya, and at Ramla near Alexandria.

It is, of course, possible that their eponymous ancestor, Jumei'a, was an Arab of Beni Suleim descent, who returned to Egypt from the "Green Mountain", soon after the Beni Suleim invasion, and whose descendants became Murabitin by forming themselves into a religious community. But such religious fervour is not a Bedouin characteristic, but smacks rather of the fanaticism of the recently-converted, so I suspect the Jumei'at, in spite of their descent from Ka'b, to be mainly a remnant of the earlier Libyan population of the coast.

Prior to the arrival of the Awlad 'Ali, they were "Mrabit" to the Beni 'Una, and engaged in constant conflict with the Hanadi. Upon the rout and annihilation of the Beni 'Una, the Jumei'at were stirred up to revolt against the Hanadi by one of their holy men called Baqush. Outraged by their

[1] The more ignorant Awlad Suleiman have forgotten Ka'b's paternity, and confused him with the famous Arab poet Ka'b ibn Zuheir. See p. 287 for their version. And yet another Jumei'i version gives as their ancestor the Saint Ka'b el Ahbar.

[2] The "Friends" of the Prophet.

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619 oppression, he gathered his people and delivered a fiery
175 denunciation of his religion, during which he smashed his
726 rosary into pieces and mixed it with his horse's fodder;
792 Baqush then invited their kinsmen (?) the Awlad 'Ali, to come over from the "Green Mountain" and help them. To entice the Awlad 'Ali, he is said to have sent them samples of salt desert water and Nile water sweetened with sugar to illustrate the difference between the hardships of the desert and the comforts of the Rif.[1]

619 As recounted earlier, the Awlad 'Ali completely routed the
175 Hanadi and their allies, and drove them from the desert.
726 In the division of the conquered territory, the Jumei'at received a third, and, although they were still considered Murabitin, were released from the payment of tribute. They [131] now live intermingled with the free sections of the Awlad 'Ali, all along the north coast of Egypt, and are numerous in Beheira, especially near Abu Hummus.

619 *Samalus*.—The Samalus are found scattered among the
[131] Awlad 'Ali on the northern coast and stranded among many of the Egyptian provinces. They once possessed a head sheikh Abu Sala at Minya, and colonies are recorded from Faiyum, Beheira, Menufiya, Gharbiya, and Sharqiya. An [175] old paper from the Recruiting Department gives from [162] seventeen villages in the Faiyum 775 mounted Samalus [231] and 1,400 on foot, possessing 1,760 camels and 11,400 sheep. Two important groups of wells, both called "Sawani [312] es-Samalus" exist on the north coast, one about 50 kilometres east of Salum, and the other 20 kilometres south of Dhab'a.

• [173] They say they came to Egypt, 400 strong, about 200 years ago, from the Wadi Samalus in the Jebel Akhdar, and their ancestor twelve generations ago was Nasr el-Hasani, of course an "Arab from Beni Suleim".

[175] In the *Description de l'Egypte*, P. D. Martin relates how
[726] in 1800 the Samalus of Faiyum were raided by a party of Ferjan, 200 strong, from Beheira.

619 *Shiheibat*.—These are a "Mrabit" tribe from the west with
186 an unenviable reputation, living near the Wadi Natrun. Sayed Idris, the former Senussi leader, says of them: "Most

[1] Dumreicher, 16. This is probably the "Sheik Abdall Gawyal Bagooshi" who wrote to Sir Sydney Smith in March, 1801, warning him of the approach of the French from Damanhur. Wilson, *History of the British Expedition in Egypt*, 371. (Rif = cultivated area.)